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Wm E Channing

OBSERVATIONS

ON VARIOUS

PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE,

PLACING THEM IN A NEW LIGHT;

AND

ASCERTAINING

THE MEANING OF SEVERAL, NOT DETERMINABLE BY THE METHODS COMMONLY MADE USE OF BY THE LEARNED;

ORIGINALLY COMPILED

BY THE

Rev. THOMAS HARMER,

FROM

RELATIONS INCIDENTALLY MENTIONED IN BOOKS OF VOYAGES AND TRAVELS INTO THE EAST.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

FIRST AMERICAN, FROM THE FOURTH

LONDON EDITION.

WITH A NEW ARRANGEMENT, MANY IMPORTANT ADDITIONS, AND INNUMERABLE CORRECTIONS,

By ADAM CLARKE, LL.D.

Impellimur autem Natura, ut prodesse velimus quamplurimis imprimisque docendo, ... Itaque non facile est invenire qui, quod sciat ipse, non tradat alteri.

Cic. de Fin. lib. iii.

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Channing.

CONTENTS

OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

CHAP. X.

OBSERVATIONS ON DIVERS PASSAGES OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

Observation.		Page.
xiv.	Of the canals in Egypt	9
xv.	Of the vines, sycamores, date trees, &c. of Egypt	11
xvi.	Of the grapes of Egypt and Canaan	14
xvii.	A double seed time and harvest in Egypt	16
xviii.	Of the time of harvest in Egypt	17
xix.	Of the pestilential winds in Egypt	19
xx.	Of the road through the desert from Egypt to Judea	21
xxi.	The exposure of Ishmael considered	24
xxii.	Of the quadrupeds that inhabited the deserts through which Israel passed, on their journey to the promised land	27
xxiii.	Of the birds found in the same desert	31
xxiv.	Of the behemoth or hippopotamus	35
xxv.	Of the fish in Egypt	38
xxvi.	Times which the Egyptians live wholly on fish	41
xxvii.	Manner of catching fish in Egypt	42
xxviii.	Of the different kinds of herbs used for food in Egypt	44
xxix.	Delicacy of the different kinds of game in Egypt	50
xxx.	Of the olive and its produce in Egypt	53
xxxi.	Of the Mosaic pavement at Prænestc, relating to some of the animals and plants of Egypt and Ethiopia, in illustration of the plate	55
xxxii.	Of the excellence of the Egyptian horses	74
xxxiii.	Of the peculiar excellence of the Egyptian flax	75
xxxiv.	Of the fine linen of Egypt	76
xxxv.	Of the different kinds of linen manufactured in Egypt	78

Obs. Page

XXXVI. Method of staining and ornamenting the nails in Egypt 84

XXXVII Strong attachment of the Egyptians to their own land 87

XXXVIII. State of the desert when Israel passed through it - 88

XXXIX. Present state of the same desert - - 99

XL. Further account of the state of this desert - - 100

XLI. Concerning the fish in the Red Sea, and the great dexterity of the Arabs in fishing - - - 103

XLII. Dangerous navigation of the Red Sea - - 107

XLIII. Of the sowing, watering, reaping, and threshing of rice, in Egypt - - - - 109

CHAP. XI.

MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS.

I. Manner of presenting offerings to GOD at Jerusalem 111

II. Rain sometimes falls in the desert between the Nile and the Red Sea - - - 115

III. Curious illustration of Amos ii. 8, concerning the clothes laid to pledge by every altar - - 117

IV. Of the pollutions practised among the Heathens in their religious transactions - - - 123

V. Concerning the red painted idols used by the ancient Heathens - - - - 129

VI. Of the curious addition at the end of the book of Joshua, in the Septuagint version - - 133

VII. Mourners in ancient times not only laid aside their ornaments, but put off their outer garments - 136

VIII. Of the canopies used about beds in the East - 138

IX. Of the presents made by David to the people, on his bringing home the ark - - 143

X. Presents interchanged among royal personages in the East - - - - 151

XI. Great men in the East, often take from their officers those gifts which the latter receive from the bounty of others - - - - 152

XII. People in the East use music more frequently, and on more ordinary occasions, than those in other countries 154

XIII. Of the lights, or splinters, made of resinous wood, used in certain countries - - - 156

Obs. Page

xiv. Ancient and modern idolaters often cut themselves in their acts of worship - - - - 153

xv. All ancient prophets and priests lived wholly secluded from secular life - - - - - 160

xvi. In the East, the washing of clothes is performed in the most public manner - - - - 162

xvii. Of the peculiarly significant names given to women in the East - - - - - 164

xviii. Curious method of applying the terms father and mother, to things animate, and inanimate in the East - - 166

xix. Some observations on the upupa, or lapwing - 167

xx. Curious observations on weaving, in illustration of a passage of Isaiah chap. xxxviii. 12 - - - 170

xxi. Copious falls of rain in the East considered as extraordinary blessings - - - - - 175

xxii. Of the effects produced on the colour of the body by hunger - - - - - 177

xxiii. Curious illustration of Ezra iv. 14 - - - 178

xxiv. Expressions of surprise among the Turks - 182

xxv. Of the hard usage experienced by the Jews, who were carried away by Sennacherib - - 183

xxvi. Of the pitched bottles in which the Persians carry their wine, &c. - - - - - 187

xxvii. Of the ancient and modern manner of taking an oath in the Eastern countries - - - 190

xxviii. Of the pitchers used to fetch water - - 194

xxix. Of the veils used by women in the East - 197

xxx. Of the Eastern shawls - - - - 199

xxxi. Curious information concerning the age of Sarah - 201

xxxii. Defence of the Scripture account of Dinah, against the objections of Voltaire - - - 208

xxxiii. Of purchasing wives in the East - - - 210

xxxiv. Of the rock altars in the Holy Land - - 213

xxxv. The water which Samson met with, did not spring out of the asses' jaw bone - - - - 215

xxxvi. Vineyards rare even among Christians under the Mohammedan government - - - - 219

xxxvii. Of the memorials of the dead in the Holy Land - 221

xxxviii. Curious illustration of Hebrews xi. 37, 38 - - - 223

Obs.		Page
XXXIX.	Of the Midianites or Ishmaelites, to whom Joseph was sold	225
XL.	Manner of carrying their children in the East	227
XLI.	The office of women and children among the Algerines	228
XLII.	Slaves used with great kindness in the East	230
XLIII.	Slaves often sold at a cheap rate	232
XLIV.	Of the shoes and slippers worn in the East	233
XLIV.	The Easterns frequently wash their feet, and reason of it	236
XLV.	Great costliness of the females' dress in the East	237
XLVI.	Of plaiting the hair in the East	238
XLVII.	Of the female ornaments mentioned by Isaiah ch. iii.	240
XLVIII.	Of the nose jewels used by the women in the East	244
XLIX.	Of the ear rings mentioned in Scripture	247
L.	Of the handkerchiefs used in the East	249
LI.	Eastern women fond of long hair, a curious criticism on the weight of Absalom's hair	251
LII.	Great confinement of the Eastern women	255
LIII.	Of tinging the eyes in the East	257
LIV.	Of the Eastern mirrors	261
LV.	Of the peacocks imported by Solomon	263
LVI.	In ancient times, the Egyptian women were much engaged in commerce	264
LVII.	Of the shirts worn by the Turks and Moors	265
LVIII.	A blanket or sheet frequently used as a wrapper for the body among the Egyptians	267
LIX.	Shade of the juniper tree, said to be unhealthy	269
LX.	Of the lamps and lanterns used in Egypt	274
LXI.	Spades seldom used in the Holy Land, the vineyards being cultivated by the plough	276
LXII.	Necessity of water in the Eastern gardens	277
LXIII.	Some curious remarks on Cant. vii. 11—13	278
LXIV.	Of hunting in the Holy Land	281
LXV.	Of fowling in the Holy Land	282
LXVI.	Critical remarks on the kneading troughs, said to have been used by the Israelites, on their leaving Egypt	288
LXVII.	Eagles fond of cedars	291
LXVIII.	Of their repositories for corn in the East	ibid
LXIX.	Ruins frequented by different kinds of vermin	294
LXX.	Curious method of sealing the places where the stores of the grand signior are kept	295

Obs. Page

LXXI. Of the mode of sending petitions to the Eastern princes 296

LXXII. Of the manner of reaping in the East - 299

LXXIII. Oxen employed in carrying burthens on their backs 301

LXXIV. Hay rarely make in the East, what is meant by the king's mowings, Amos vii. 1 - - - 302

LXXV. Giving a person drink, the strongest assurance that can be given in the East, of receiving a person into protection - - - - - 304

LXXVI. Of raising heaps of stones, in commemoration of remarkable transactions - - - 306

LXXVII. Of rendering fields unfruitful, by filling them with stones 308

LXXVIII. Of pretended divination by cups - - - 310

LXXIX. Curious remarks on genealogical tables - - 311

LXXX. Of the term everlasting Father, as applied to our LORD, Isaiah ix. 6 - - - - - 312

LXXXI. Curious criticisms on Isaiah xii. 14—16 - - 315

LXXXII. Camels constitute a part of the riches of great men in the East - - - - - 318

LXXXIII. Usefulness of camels' hair in the East - 319

LXXXIV. Medicines used externally in the East - - 320

LXXXV. Repositories for beds in the East - - ibid

LXXXVI. Some factitious metals of great value in the East - 321

LXXXVII. Of the two mules' burthen of earth, which Naaman requested from the prophet Elijah - - 322

LXXXVIII. Of the manner in which the easterns express resentment against any person - - - - 323

LXXXIX. Their method of dishonoring places, which had been used for religious purposes, &c. - - 324

XC. Strange custom observed in mourning for the dead 325

XCI. Remarks on some parts of Acts xxvii. relative to St. Paul's voyage - - - - 326

XCII. Of the effects of circumcision - - 327

XCIII. Of the ornaments put on Rebecca, by Abraham's servant 330

XCIV. Many sirnames in use among the orientals - ibid

XCV. Women in the East suffer little in parturition - 332

XCVI. Of the posture of devotion practised by some in the East - - - 334

XCVII. Of the manner in which the dervishes and fakeers are clothed - - - 335

Obs.		Page
xcviii.	Extreme detestation expressed in the East, by spitting on the ground	336
xcix.	Congratulations usual on the birth of a male child	338
c.	Manner of reckoning shekels	ibid
ci.	Strange custom observed in contracting for wives in the East	339
cii.	Of the oriental bowcases	340
ciii.	Particular times observed for going journies	ibid
civ.	People in the East frequently cut their arms for purposes of love and devotion	341
cv.	Of the employment of the eastern soldiers in time of peace	343
cvi.	Of the blue coloured garments used in the East	344
cvii.	Of the nature of the ancient Tyrian commerce	346
cviii.	Of the carpets used in the East	348
cix.	Public assemblies of the Arabs for purposes of entertainment	349
cx.	Princes in the East often compared to lions, crocodiles, &c.	352
	Concluding observations, by the editor	353

OBSERVATIONS

ON

DIVERS PASSAGES OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

CHAP. X.

CONTINUED FROM THE PRECEDING VOLUME.

OBSERVATION XIV.

OF THE CANALS IN EGYPT.

Some of these canals, if we may believe Maillet,* were a hundred feet broad, and twenty deep; and made some considerable districts absolutely barren, that would otherwise have been like the garden of the Lord.†

Other countries had in like manner watering canals, though perhaps none of such enormous dimensions.‡ Nor was Judea a stranger to them: the waters of the fountain of Elisha dividing themselves, as Maundrell observed,|| into several small streams, and so rendering all the field between it and Jericho exceedingly fruitful; which small streams are without doubt the effect of art, it not being natural for a spring to make itself such a number of channels.

To these canals, and the fertility produced by them in these countries, Solomon, I imagine, refers in Prov. xxi.

* Let. 2, p. 46.

† William, Archbishop of Tyre, gives a like account. Gesta Dei, p. 969.

‡ Damascus had, see Maundrell, p. 121—123. || Page 80.

1, where he says, *The king's heart is in the hand of the* LORD, *as the rivers of water*, or as watering canals, *he turneth it whithersoever he will.* Commentators suppose that this marks out the power of the great LORD of lords over the heart of princes. It does so undoubtedly; but though they have given us the thought in general, I do not remember to have met with any that have given us the energy of it, which seems to be this, "Which way soever the heart of a king turneth, it conveys riches, just as a watering canal doth plenty; and let it be remembered, that the LORD turns it whithersoever he will, and makes whom he pleases the favourite of princes."

Northern readers have often, I dare say, wondered in themselves that the divine energy upon the minds of men, which is apparently intended by the words, should be represented by a man's turning a stream of water whither he pleases; which appears to them a work of difficulty, such difficulty that it is not often attempted in their countries. They therefore are ready to be surprised, that some allusion containing the idea of greater ease was not used; but to an original imagination the metaphor will appear strong, but in all respects just, as conveying the thought of the ease with which the power of GOD operates on the hearts of princes, and of the enriching effects of royal favour, which is elsewhere compared to a cloud of the latter rain, adding further prosperity to those that are in affluent circumstances, and setting beggars among princes, just like those canals which are so common in these countries, which add very much to the fertility of a rich soil, and sometimes turn a desert into a paradise. So the province of Faoume or Fioum, the richest province in all Egypt, owes all its fertility, according to Maillet,* to a canal made by art in very ancient times, and would without it have been absolutely barren, as the want of keeping this canal with sufficient care has very much injured it.

* Let. 8, p. 293, &c.

OBSERVATION XV.

OF THE VINES, SYCAMORES, DATE TREES, &C. OF EGYPT.

MAILLET says, the best vines of Egypt* grow in this province, not that Egypt is a vine country, or ever was; so far from it, that they were, and still are forced to use a sort of beer for common drink,† made of barley and some intoxicating drug. This country not producing, like other countries in the East, wine in such quantities as to be tolerably proportionate to the wants of the inhabitants; it had, however, many vines.

We may therefore perhaps wonder, that their vines should have been considered by the Psalmist so important as to be singled out, along with their sycamores, from their other trees, in his account of the destruction made among them by the hail, Ps. xxviii. 47, and may fancy there must have been other trees of much more consequence to them, and in particular the date, which Maillet, affirms to be the most esteemed at this time in Egypt, on account of its profitableness.‡

But it ought to be remembered, that many trees which are now found in Egypt, might not have been introduced in those times. Dr. Pococke supposes, that very few of the present Egyptian trees are natives;|| the sycamore and the vine might therefore at that time be very well thought the most valuable they had.

Their sycamores were undoubtedly very important to them, and their destruction a heavy loss. The ancient Egyptian coffins were made of this kind of wood, as are the modern bark;§ and consequently we may believe

* Voy. la derniere citation.

† Shaw, p. 407, Maillet, Let. xi. p. 111, Pococke, vol. i. p. 182.

‡ Let. 9, p. 16. || Vol. 1, p. 205. § Norden, part 2, p. 177.

their ancient ones of which they have such numbers on the Nile, and must always have stood in great need of multitudes, on account of the nature of their country. But besides these uses, they produce a sort of fig, upon which, Norden tells us,* the people for the greater part live; thinking themselves well regaled when they have a piece of bread, a couple of sycamore figs, and a pitcher filled with water from the Nile.†

A fondness for the sycamore fruit is not peculiar to Egyptians: Hasselquist, the Swedish traveller, was greatly pleased with it; for having said, that the fruit was soft, watery, somewhat sweet, with something of an aromatic taste, he adds, "After I once had tasted it, I could scarce refrain from eating; and if I had thought the fresh fruit wholesome, I should certainly have eaten a great deal of it."‡ No wonder then that David had an officer to look after these trees, and that they and olive trees should be put jointly under his inspection, 1 Chron. xxvii. 28. When this passage describes them as growing in the low plains, it reminds us of what Hasselquist tells us, of their growing at present in the plains and fields of lower Egypt, where he found them very common.‖ He found many olive trees growing in a like situation, in three places, and says, "We had fine vales, abounding with

* Part 1, p. 79, 80.

† Hasselquist tells us, that the sycamore buds in the latter end of March, and the fruit ripens in the beginning of June; and that it is wounded or cut by the inhabitants at the time it buds, as without this precaution, they say, it will not bear fruit, p. 261. Is it not this operation that Amos refers to, in those words which we translate, "Was a gatherer of sycamore fruit?" The Septuagint seems to refer it to something done to the fruit, to hasten its ripening, it is supposed: but as the word certainly signifies sycamore trees elsewhere, every where else, I think; as there is a sort of scarification, or something of that kind, practised upon the tree itself, according to Hasselquist; may not the words at least as well be understood to mean this? However, if the words were rendered *a sycamore tree dresser*, it would include both senses, and be preferable, sure to our present translation.

‡ Page 261.

‖ Page 120.

olive trees," speaking of the road between Jaffa and Rama.

If their vines too were as useful then as they are now, the loss of them was very great. Their fruit serves for a considerable part of the entertainments they give their friends: so Norden was treated by the Aga of Essuaen with coffee, and some bunches of grapes of an excellent taste.* If we may believe Maillet, they make still more of the leaves of their vines than they do of their fruit, using them, when young, prodigiously: for minced meat being one great part of their diet, they wrap it up in little parcels in vine leaves, and laying thus leaf upon leaf, they season it after their mode, and so cook it, and make of it a most exquisite sort of food, and one of the most delicious that comes upon their tables.† But besides these uses, they make some wine, which, though it is now made in very small quantities, as it is also in other Mohammedan countries, yet was anciently much more plentiful, and even exported: for though Egypt never produced wine in such quantities as to be tolerably proportionate to the number of its inhabitants, as in other countries; yet they made so much, and that so delicious, as that it was carried to Rome, and so much drank there, as to be very well known in that seat of luxury, insomuch that Maillet, who never forgets any of the excellencies of this country, tells us, it was the third in esteem of their wines.‡ It was made then without doubt,‖ and in considerable quantities, for the use of Pharaoh and of his court, who probably could procure no such wine from abroad: nor were acquainted with such liquors as the great now drink in Egypt: and consequently the loss of their vines must have been considerable.

As to the date trees, which are said to be the most important now of any to the Egyptians, and which are mentioned neither in this Psalm, nor the cvth, may we not suppose that if they were then in Egypt, which is the most

* Part 2, p. 112. † Let. 9, p. 14. ‡ Let. 8, p. 294. ‖ Gen. xl. 9, &c.

probable, the storm of hail did not reach them? The trees, it is certain, that produce the best dates in Egypt grow in the deserts,* where it seems nothing else grows, and there they are in great numbers; and as hail storms are not wont to extend very far, so there is no reason in the world to suppose this storm reached to those deserts. It was sufficient if it fell with severity before the eyes of Pharaoh, and demolished the country that was cultivated, and particularly that part that was near to him: agreeably to which we may observe, that the vineyards of Egypt were in the country of Fioum,† which, according to William of Tyre, is but one day's journey from Cairo; and consequently less from Memphis,‡ the old royal city, Memphis and Fioum lying both southwest from Cairo. As for the sycamore trees, Dr. Pococke tells us,‖ they are planted near villages, especially about Cairo, and consequently not far from Memphis.

Upon the whole, it is no wonder that we have no account of any damage done to their date trees, and that their sycamores and their vines are distinguished from their other trees, in the Mosaic history of this desolation.

OBSERVATION XVI.

OF THE GRAPES OF EGYPT AND CANAAN.

The grapes of Egypt are much smaller than those that grow in the Holy Land.

Dandini, though an Italian, seems to have been surprised at the extraordinary size of the grapes of Mount Libanus. They use no props, he tells us, to support the trees, but let them creep along the earth; the wine produced from them is delicate, and exceeding pleasant; it is a very surprising thing to see the bigness of the grape,

* Maillet, let. 8, p. 295. † Meme page.

‡ Gesta Dei, &c. p. 964. ‖ Vol. 1, p. 205.

which is equal to a prune; and that he easily comprehended, at seeing them, why the Hebrews had so great a desire to taste them, and that they pushed forward with so much passion the conquest of the Land of Promise, after they had seen the grapes which the spies of Joshua brought back from the neighbouring countries.*

It is the distinguishing manner in which the grapes are spoken of, Numbers xiii. and the pains they took to bring a whole cluster to the camp, by hanging it on a staff borne by two men, that demonstrates the particular value the spies put on this kind of fruit, produced in the Holy Land, rather than their hastening to subdue the country; which does not very well agree with the account that is given us of the temper Israel was in at the return of the spies.

Nor is it any wonder the Israelites, born in the land of Egypt, were so extremely struck with the grapes of Canaan, since those of Egypt, though it is so fertile a country, are very small. The setting a passage of Norden in contrast with Dandini's account, will illustrate this circumstance extremely: "Waiting on a Turkish Aga in Upper Egypt," Norden says, "the Aga ordered coffee to be served, and regaled me with some bunches of grapes, which were of an excellent taste, but very small."†

D'Herbelot, in giving an account of the tragical death of one of the women of the Khalif Jezid, from a Persian historian, takes notice of the largeness of the grapes of Palestine in like manner.‡ As the story is memorable, it shall be given in a note below. The Egyptian Israelites must have been pleased with the grapes of Eschol: they that before had only seen very small bunches.

* Chap. 10, p. 43. † Vol. 2, p. 112.

‡ Page 487. Jezid, says the historian Khondemir, being in Palestine, which they call the country of Jordan, and diverting himself in a garden with one of his women, whom he loved to madness, he was presented with a collation of the most excellent fruits of the country: during this little repast he took a grape, which he threw to his mistress; she took it, and put it into her mouth to eat it: but the grape being very large, such as this country produces, getting down her throat, stopped her breath, and she was choaked in an instant.

OBSERVATION XVII.

A DOUBLE SEED TIME AND HARVEST IN EGYPT.

Dr. Pococke has made a remark, which I have observed in no other traveller,* and that is, that there is a double seed time and harvest in Egypt: rice, Indian wheat, and another sort that produces a large cane, and has an ear like millet, which they call the corn of Damascus, and in Italian, *surgo rosso*, being sown and reaped at a very different time from wheat, which in that country, it seems, is all bearded, barley, and flax. "The first," he says,† "are sown in March, before the Nile overflows the lands, and reaped about October; whereas, the wheat and barley are sown in November and December, as soon as the Nile is gone off, and they are reaped before May."‡

Dr. Shaw seems not to have been aware of this, for he supposes that rice was sown at the same time with flax, wheat, and barley;|| yet it seems natural, that as wheat and barley are sown as soon as the inundation is over, and reaped before it returns, so likewise that those sorts of grain that require much water, should be sown before it begins, and be reaped just as it finishes. And though I have met with no direct observation of this kind,§ yet Norden confirms one part of it: for he tells us, that he saw a great plain covered with Turkey wheat the twentieth of No-

* It is to be met with in Thomson's Travels, vol. 3, p. 308, 309; but it is supposed there really was no such traveller, and that the book was a mere compilation from others.

† The text says, July, but it appears from the errata, March was the month he intended.

‡ Vol 1, p. 204. || Page 406, 407.

§ Pococke's account has since been confirmed by Hasselquist, who found the rice, at Assotta, about three inches high the thirtieth of May, N. S. p. 54. He indeed tells us, it had been sown but eight days before; but this must certainly have been a mistake, perhaps it should have been eight weeks. He elsewhere mentions the same month that Pococke does, as the time for reaping it, that of October.

vember, which began to be ripe; and that he saw the Arabs cutting their harvest in a neighbouring plain the twentyninth of that month.*

If then this is fact, it will explain very determinately what is meant by the wheat and rye's being dark, or hidden, at the time of the plague of hail, Exod. ix. 32; for it must mean, that they were sown, but not come up, contrary to the opinion of Dr. Shaw, who supposes that the expression imports, that they were of a dark green, and consequently yielded without hurt, while the barley and the flax, being more forward, were destroyed.

This will show also what the wheat was that, being hidden in the earth, escaped: it was Indian wheat, or *surgo rosso*, which sorts of wheat with the rye† escaped; while the barley, and wheat bearded like barley, and the flax, were smitten.

OBSERVATION XVIII.

OF THE TIME OF HARVEST IN EGYPT.

The translation the Septuagint has given of Prov. x. 5, differs from the Hebrew, and is by no means so natural, considered as a proverbial saying; but gives us some information concerning the weather of one particular part of the year, but whether of the weather as it is, in common, in Judea, or whether only as it is in Egypt, may justly be questioned.

* Part 2, p. 17, and p. 36.

† Or rice, according to Dr Shaw, p. 407. Hasselquist however makes no doubt, but that the Egyptians learned the cultivation of rice under the Khalifs, at which time, he says, many useful plants were brought over the Red Sea to Egypt, which now grow spontaneously there, and enrich the country, p. 109, 110 This may be left to the curious to examine, it being of no consequence to my design here to examine, whether rice, or the corn of Damascus, or some other plant of importance to human life, was meant; it being sufficient to observe, that some sorts of farinaceous plants were then but just sown, while others were drawing to maturity.

That translation is, "A wise son is saved from the heat; but a son that observes not rules in harvest, is struck with a corrupting, or destroying, wind."

This supposes that the time of harvest was a time of great heat; that this heat, if not guarded against by observing the rules of prudence, might be deadly; that the heat was occasioned by a destructive wind, which produced at least similar effects to those of the Sumyel, which is so fatal in the Eastern deserts, for it was of the corrupting kind.

This agrees very well with the weather in Egypt, for Maillet in one place tells us, the harvest there is in the latter end of April, or the first days of May;* and in another letter he describes the two months of April and May as extremely hot,† which induces the people of Egypt in these months to eat no meat, but to live on fish, which aversion to flesh meats is owing to the winds from the south, he makes no doubt, which winds never fail to blow when the Nile begins to rise, which he tells us, begins ordinarily to rise the last days of the month of April, and the beginning of May,‡ consequently in the time of harvest in that country.

That the heat in harvest is sometimes deadly in Judea, we are informed in the Scriptures;|| an apocryphal writer supposes the same thing:§ but whether this heat in harvest is brought by southerly wind, and whether it happens as generally in Egypt, is a matter not yet, that I know of, ascertained. Nor are we informed, as to either countries, how far the same symptoms appear, in those that perish through the heat there, that are found in those that are killed by the Sumyel, the hot pestilential wind in the deserts.

We are also left to guess at the precautions used by those that gathered in the harvest in inhabited countries;

* Let. 9, p. 7. † Let. 11, p. 109, 110. ‡ Let. 2, p. 56.

|| 2 Kings iv. 18—20. § Judith viii. 3.

I say inhabited countries, for we have some account of the methods made use of in the deserts, to guard against being struck by those deadly winds, and to recover those that are injured by them, but not so as to be irrecoverably lost.*

OBSERVATION XIX.

OF THE PESTILENTIAL WINDS IN EGYPT.

COMMENTATORS have supposed, that the fire of JEHOVAH that burned among the Israelites in the wilderness, of which we have an account in Numb. xi. 1, meant their being destroyed by lightning; or a miraculous breaking forth of fire from the cloud, which marked out the presence of GOD among them ;† but perhaps it may be as natural to explain it, of the deadly fiery wind which sometimes prevails in those Eastern deserts.

It is said to appear in the deserts which border on the Tigris ;‡ in the great desert between Bussora and Aleppo ;‖ and on the borders of the Persian gulf :§ but Maillet mentions its being felt also in the desert between Egypt and Mecca, in part of which Israel wandered forty years.

For speaking of the caravan of pilgrims that goes annually from Egypt to Mecca,¶ he says, "During the whole summer, a very fresh northerly wind reigns in this climate, which very much tempers the heat there. To take the advantage of it they raise up the side of the tent which is exposed to the wind much higher than the opposite side, so that being engulfed, and passing through the tent with quickness, it not only refreshes the people that repose themselves there, but also certain vessels

* Niebuhr, Descr. de l'Arabie, p. 8. † See Bp. Patrick on the place.

‡ Ann. Reg. 1766, part 2, p. 121.

‖ Niebuhr, Descript. de l'Arabie, p. 7, 8. § Chardin, tome 2, p. 2.

¶ Let. xiv. p. 232.

which are suspended in the tents, and filled with water, which in an instant, by being treated in this manner, contract an agreeable freshness. But if the north wind happens to fail, and that from the south comes in its place, which however is rather uncommon, then the whole caravan is so sickly and exhausted, that 300 or 400 persons are wont to lose their lives. Even greater numbers, as for 1500, of whom the greatest part are stifled on the spot, by the fire and dust of which this fatal wind seems to be composed.*

Sir John Chardin describes this wind as making a great hissing noise, says that it appears red and fiery,† and kills those it strikes by a kind of stifling them, especially when it happens in the day time.‡

If a wind of this description killed any member of the Israelites, would it be any wonder that it should have been called the *fire of the* LORD? and the place from such an event, have been named *Taberah*, or a burning? And would not the account that this sort of fire was quenched, or, as it is translated in the margin, *sunk*, better agree with such a wind than with lightning?

I have, in a preceding volume, taken notice of the heat the south wind occasions in Judea, but the Sumyel does not appear to have been felt there, any more than that at Aleppo, unless we suppose the destruction of Sennacherib's army was by such a wind, directed by an angel,

> Who, glad th' Almighty's orders to perform,
> Rode in the whirlwind.——

But this passage in Numbers, relating to Israel in the wilderness, may be thought more plainly to point out this deadly wind.

* Out of perhaps 40 or 50,000 people that compose the caravan, p. 228.

† Rouge et enflammé ‡ Tome 2, p. 9.

OBSERVATION XX.

OF THE ROAD THROUGH THE DESERT FROM EGYPT TO JUDEA.

THE history of the Revolt of Ali Bey tells us,* that when his general and brother in law Abudahap engaged in designs against him, which ended in Ali's ruin and death, he did not march from the Holy Land to Egypt by the common road, but directed his course, with his army, by the desert between the Red Sea and Egypt, and came by that route into Upper Egypt, and going from thence, drove Ali from Egypt into the Holy Land, to his friend there, the Arab Sheekh Daher. This mode of proceeding reminds us of that passage of the book of Exodus, in which we are told, *When Pharaoh had let the people go, that* GOD *led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near: for* GOD *said, Lest peradventure the people repent, when they see war, and they return to Egypt. But* GOD *led the people about, through the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea.*†

It seems very improbable, from Irwin's account of his passing through the Egyptian desert, from Ghinnah in Upper Egypt, to Cairo, that an army could be conducted through this wilderness without the greatest difficulties, or that any general should think of taking such a route; yet it seems Abudahap attempted it, and succeeded in his project. How many days were spent in the march we are not told; but Irwin was fifteen days, or part of sixteen, only in passing from Ghinnah to Cairo, according to his relation.

As to the more common roads from Egypt to Judea: Thevenot travelled in eleven or twelve days from Cairo to Gaza, which was the way by the land of the Philistines,

* Page 114. † Exod. xiii. 17, 18.

notwithstanding several stops by the way.* Ali Bey, when he marched in a hurry from Cario to Ptolemais, went from Cairo to Hanneunus, as the writer of his history tells us, in part of four days, which town, he informs us, is not twenty miles short of Gaza.† And if we deduct two days and a half that were trifled away by Thevenot, we shall find that he was about eight days in travelling to the town where Ali Bey stopped, not twenty miles short of Gaza.

If we pursue a road further distant from the sea coast, and more into the desert, to Hebron, we shall find that Dr. Shaw reckons‡ but seven stations, or eight days' journey,‖ of the great Mohammedan caravan from Cairo to a place called Ally. From which place, Wortley Montague tells us, it is but six days' journey to Jerusalem.§ According to this way of computation, it is but fourteen days' journey from Cairo to Jerusalem, in the way of the desert and Hebron by Ally, or Scheekh Ali, which seems too not the nearest way to Hebron.

It would not, probably, be above a day or two more to go from Cairo, round the south end of the Dead Sea, and so along its eastern side to Jordan, since Joseph, when he carried his father's corpse to be interred in Hebron, went this still more round about way, doubtless on account of some conveniencies, with which we are not well acquainted. Gen. l. 5, 7—13.

Moses then might have been supposed by the Israelites, when he proposed to them not to go by the way of the land of the Philistines, but more through the desert, not to design a journey of the length of more than twenty

* Travels, part 1, book 2, ch. 35.

† P. 119, setting out in the evening of April 12, and arriving at Hanneunus the 15th.

‡ Page 477.

‖ According to the account of Thevenot, part 1, book 2, ch. 17, who tells us, the caravan stops a day at *Kalaat el Nahhal*, or, as Shaw writes the name, *Callah Nahhar*.

§ Phil. Trans. vol. 56, p. 47.

days, for which a sufficient quantity of corn and water might be carried without very much difficulty. A journey which the patriarch Joseph had before taken with a very great company:* the present terror of the Egyptians operating as powerfully, as the authority of Joseph did then. And accordingly, though they murmured for water before, they did not murmur for bread, till they came into the wilderness of Sin, on the 15th day of the second month after their departure from Egypt.† Which shows they had stocked themselves with a month's provision of corn for their journey, which now accordingly began to fail.‡ But Moses had other views, and depended on a divine power to supply all their wants, and, it seems, it was thought proper to try their faith in that power, and to illustrate the care of God over that nation, through all after generations, by what was designed to be done in the wilderness. Not to mention, that infinite wisdom thought it requisite that a moveable temple should be built in the desert, before their entering into the land of the Canaanites, promised their forefathers, lest they should be seduced to worship in their temples, as they dwelt in their private houses, which was allowed them, Deut. vi. 10, 11, xix. 1. This took up something more than a year; for when they departed from Sinai toward the promised country, it was the 20th day of the second month, in the second year of their coming out of Egypt, Numb. x. 11, 12, 13, soon after which the spies were sent to search out the country to which they were to go.

The way of the desert then, though less direct, and which consequently would take up more time, was not thought at that time to be totally impracticable; and indeed, had been proved not to be so by Joseph.

* Gen. i. 9. † Exod. xvi. 1, 2, 3.

‡ The numerous Mohammedan caravans, from Cairo to Mecca, are forty days in going, and as much in returning, and carry almost all their food with them, and much of their water, to last them thither, and back again.

OBSERVATION XXI.

THE EXPOSURE OF ISHMAEL CONSIDERED.

THE circumstances of Ishmael's being conducted to a shrub, when his faintness from the heat, and want of water, in the wilderness of Beersheba, so increased that he could not proceed in his journey toward Egypt; and Hagar's despair of obtaining water time enough to save his life, are natural;* though it may not be amiss to take notice of some things relating to this matter, which may seem to want a little explanation.

Pitts, in the account he gives of his return from Mecca, tells us, "'Tis thirtyseven days' journey from Mecca to Cairo. . . . in all this way there is scarcely any green thing to be met with, nor beast nor fowl to be seen or heard, nothing but sand and stones, excepting one place, which we passed by night; I suppose it was some village, where were some trees, and, as we thought, gardens."†

But this is to be understood, I apprehend, to be only comparatively speaking; if otherwise, it is certain that many other parts, of that widely extended desert, are not so entirely destitute of vegetables, as that part of it through which the road runs that leads to Mecca. Irwin mentions many bushes or low trees on the western side of this mighty desert, between the Red Sea and the Nile, through which he passed a few years ago. In p. 296, he speaks of numerous thorn trees in full blossom and fragrance. In p. 320, he speaks again of thorn trees, and expressly says, they were large enough to throw a shade; and, it seems, they were so numerous as to perfume the air as they passed, from the snowy blossoms that whitened all the vale. He mentions, in other places, rosemary bushes, and shrubs of uncommon fragrance, perhaps still without a name.

* Mentioned Gen. xxi. † Page 159.

Egmont and Heyman, in some pages, complain* of the extreme barrenness of some part of the wilderness between Cairo and Mount Sinai; but, in some of the succeeding pages, they speak of *many trees*, which made the valley of Corondel appear like a terrestrial paradise, in comparison of the barren wastes they had a little before travelled over.† They describe the vale of Nasb, presently after,‡ as very pleasant and full of trees: and in the same page mention a place where was plenty of herbage, and many palm trees, which formed a beautiful scene. They then speak of an old city called Pharan;‖ and presently after§ we are told of desolate mountains and barren rocks, but intermixed with the pleasant valleys of Debabe, Sedre, Barak, and Baraha, full of odoriferous plants, where they found also several spiniferous trees, which exudated a gum resembling that of the cherry tree.

There is then nothing improbable in the supposition we meet with here, that there were some shrubs in that part of the wilderness where Hagar wandered with her son,¶ she going toward Paran, in which part of the wilderness it was that he fixed his dwelling, Gen. xxi. 21. It was, in the wilderness, a barren and badly inhabited country, but not absolutely without trees, that Ishmael was near losing his life from thirst.

That he should, when just ready to faint, and unable to proceed onward in his journey, desire to lie down under some tree, where he might be in the shade, was quite natural: in such a situation Thevenot fell in with a poor Arab in this wilderness, just ready to expire. "Passing by the side of a bush," says this writer, "we heard a voice that called to us, and being come to the place, we found a poor languishing Arab, who told us that he had not eaten a bit for five days; we gave him some victuals and drink with a provision of bread for two days more, and so went on our way."**

* Vol. 2, p. 146, 147. † Page 151. ‡ Page 152. ‖ Ibid.
§ Page 153. ¶ Gen. xxi. 15. ** Part i. p. 164.

Ishmael was, without debate, fourteen years old when Isaac was born, (compare Gen. xvi. 16, with chap. xxi. 5,) and probably seventeen when Isaac was weaned, for it was anciently the custom in these countries to suckle children till they were three years old,* and it still continues so ;† the translation then of the Septuagint is very amazing, for, instead of representing Abraham as giving Hagar bread, and a skin bottle of water, and putting them upon Hagar's shoulder, that version represents Abraham as putting his son Ishmael on the shoulders of his mother.‡ How droll the representation! Young children indeed are wont to be carried so ; but how ridiculous to describe a youth of seventeen, or even fourteen, as riding upon his mother's shoulders, when sent upon a journey into the wilderness, and she loaded at the same time with the provisions. Yet unnatural and odd as this representation is, our version approaches too near to it, when it describes Hagar as *casting* the youth under one of the shrubs : which term agrees well enough with the getting rid of an half grown man from her shoulders, but by no means with the maternal affectionate letting go her hold of him, when she found he could go no further, and desired to lie down and die under that bush : for that undoubtedly was the idea of the sacred writer, she left off supporting him, and let him gently drop on the ground, where he desired to lie. In a succeeding verse|| the angel of the LORD bade her lift up Ishmael, and hold him in her hand, support him under his extreme weakness ; she had doubtless done this before, and her quitting her hold, upon his lying down, is the meaning of the word שלך *sha-*

* 2 Maccabees vii. 27 ; with which agrees the account given of Samuel, and other sucking children in the Scriptures.

† Russell's Descript. of Aleppo, vol. 1, p. 303.

‡ Ανεζη δε Αβρααμ το πρωι, και ελαβεν αρτυς και ασκον υδατος, και εδωκε τη Αγαρ· και επεθηκεν επι τον ωμον αυτης το παιδιον, και απεζειλεν αυτην.

|| Verse 18.

lak, translated *casting*, that word sometimes, indeed signifying a sudden and rather violent quitting hold of a thing, but at other times a parting with it in a gentle manner.

It may also be wondered at, how Hagar came to give way to despair at that time, as she certainly did; for since there were several shrubs in that place, we may suppose it was a sure indication of water, and that therefore maternal anxiety would rather have engaged her to endeavour to find out the spring which gave this spot its verdure. But it is to be remembered, that though Irwin found many shrubs in that part of the wilderness through which he travelled, yet the fountains or wells there, were by no means equal in number to the spots of ground covered with shrubs, a latent moisture in the earth favouring their growth, where there were no streams of water above ground: she might therefore, having found her preceding searches vain, very naturally be supposed to have given up all hope of relief, when the angel made her observe where there was water to be found, upon drinking which Ishmael revived.

OBSERVATION XXII.

OF THE QUADRUPEDS THAT INHABITED THE DESERTS THROUGH WHICH ISRAEL PASSED, ON THEIR JOURNEY TO THE PROMISED LAND.

DESOLATE as the desert is through which Israel marched, in their way from Egypt to Canaan, yet it seems some creatures resided in it fit for food, and that they sometimes were so successful as to take some of them, and regale themselves on their flesh.

I do not well know, how else to account for the explanatory clause in the close of Deut. xii. 15, *The unclean and the clean may eat thereof, as of the roe buck, and as of the hart:* which is again repeated, verse 22.

They were commanded to offer their burnt offerings, and to perform some other ceremonies of their law, when they came into the land promised to their fathers, only in that place which GOD should choose in one of their tribes, for those purposes. But they might notwithstanding kill and eat flesh in all their places of abode whatsoever they had a mind for, according as their circumstances would allow, of which the unclean as well as the clean might eat, as they did in the case of the roe buck and the hart: that is the purport of part of that paragraph: which is again repeated, in many of its circumstances, in the latter part of the chapter; and again in the close of the 15th, particularly expressing, in all the three places, that the unclean as well as the clean might partake of those repasts, as they did of the roe buck and the hart.

When they were in the wilderness, no beasts, that were such as they might sacrifice, might at all be killed but at the sanctuary; consequently, according to the laws then introduced by Moses, none might eat of them but those that were clean. See Lev. vii. 20, 21. But it was a decided case, that the unclean as well as the clean might eat of such wild animals as the law allowed to be eaten at all, and consequently in this place, Deut. xii. Moses declared the unclean as well as the clean might, in the same manner, eat of such animals as were proper for sacrifice, but were not killed for sacred purposes, but for food. But it could hardly have been a decided case, that the unclean as well as the clean might eat of such wild animals as Moses there specifies, *after* he had published his laws in the wilderness, and before their entering into Canaan, but upon the supposition that they had caught some of them in the wilderness, that Moses had declared the unclean might eat of them as well as the clean, and that these captures had happened so frequently, that the decision was very well known among the Israelites at the time of the publishing the book of Deuteronomy, which was in the last year of their wandering in those deserts.

The צבי *tzebee*, and the אייל *ayal*, which are the words translated the *roe buck* and the *hart*, are supposed, by Dr. Shaw,* to signify the antelope, and the hart or deer. He has given very satisfactory reasons to prove that the first signified the antelope. Now this animal has been seen, from time to time of late days, in the wilderness in which Israel so long sojourned. Dr. Shaw assures us he himself saw it there; adding that it was the only quadruped that fell under his observation in those deserts.† Egmont and Heyman, in ascending an hill not far from the convent of Mount Sinai, saw some antelopes, which at sight of them ran off with great swiftness:‡ and in another part of those travels we are told,‖ that the mountains of those deserts "every where abound with partridges, and likewise with antelopes, by the Arabians called gazels." Thevenot also saw, on the hills of this desert, a great many of these antelopes, and nothing else.§

As there are such numbers of these animals in this desert, it is no wonder that the Israelites should endeavour to catch them for food, as they had only manna, which howsoever delicious in itself, could not remove their desire to eat flesh. It is even now common for large caravans, which stock themselves with a variety of other provisions, to endeavour to catch such animals as they meet with in their journeys, that are fit for food, and often succeed in it.

Plaistead, who travelled from Busserah to Aleppo, through another vast desert, which separates those two places, in a caravan consisting of a thousand, or eleven hundred people, tells us, that their Arabs endeavoured to kill the hares, which they met with there in great numbers, with the bludgeons used by them in driving the camels, and sometimes they would kill twenty or thirty in a day.¶ And elsewhere, in giving instructions con-

* Page 414. † Page 459. ‡ Vol. 2, 179. ‖ Page 171, 172.

§ Part 1, p. 164. ¶ Journal, p. 73, 74.

cerning the utensils and provisions proper to be carried in a journey through this desert, he says, onions should never be forgotten, because you will meet with hares almost every day*. So that there appears to have been some dependence on animals that might be expected to be killed by them in their passage. This caravan he further tells us, pursued an ostrich, which crossed upon them to the southward, though it escaped them; however, that they killed an antelope.† According to Thevenot, in the passage I before cited, hares and ostriches are also found in the deserts going to Mount Sinai, but the Israelites were not allowed to eat hares by their law;‡ but as Plaistead's companions killed an antelope, and antelopes abound in those deserts, it is no wonder that it was a decided case among the Jews, while in the wilderness, that the unclean as well as the clean might eat of their flesh. Dr. Shaw supposes the *ayal* means one of the deer kind;‖ and tells us, from Strabo, that the wild beeve, or bubalus, or *bekker el wash*, frequent the more solitary parts of those countries no less than the antelope, and is equally gregarious, but none of the aforementioned travellers, speak of any of these wild creatures as seen by them in those deserts, much less as catched by them as they journied.

Irwin, however, in passing of late through the deserts between the Nile and the Red Sea, which communicate with those deserts in which Israel wandered forty years, by a neck of land which lies between Suez and the Mediterranean, and seem to be of the same general nature, mentions several deer which he saw in those deserts of Upper Egypt, and the footsteps of more;§ besides which he saw the print of the feet of another animal there, which he took to be the elk, from the size of the hoof, but which the Arabs, who were his guides, called a mountain sheep.¶

* Page 21. † Page 37. ‡ Lev. xi. 6, Deut. xiv. 7.

‖ Page 414, 415. § Page 294, 297, 311, 312, &c. ¶ Page 319.

They saw, it seems, on all sides, in that place, the fresh slot of deer, and of that other creature which he took to be an elk, and consequently of a larger size than the deer.* It is to be regretted that we cannot determine, from his description, what this larger animal was, and perhaps might have been in some doubt, whether as to the others, he meant deer, in the common sense of that word, or antelopes, had he not expressly mentioned their firing at a buck, p. 297. But it is however evident there were two different kinds of beasts, if not three, in those deserts to which, or some of which, Moses referred here.

It may be amusing to add, that, besides these animals, Irwin saw, in these deserts of Thebais, partridges,† quails,‡ hares,‖ and a snake which the Arabs said was poisonous, though he was inclined to a contrary opinion.§

OBSERVATION XXIII.

OF THE BIRDS FOUND IN THE SAME DESERT.

When Moses, upon the approach of Israel to the land of Canaan, prohibited their taking any bird along with their eggs, or their young, on which they might find them sitting, Deut. xxii. 6,¶ whether their nests were on the ground or in a tree, and mentioned nothing of this sort, so far as appears in sacred writ, before their drawing to the borders of the land they were to inherit: it cannot but be natural to inquire, wherein consisted the propriety both of such a prohibition then, and of the omitting to mention it before that time.

* See Shaw, p. 414, 415, who calls such a kind of animal, the bubalus, or wild beeve.

† Irwin, p. 305. ‡ Page 305—323. ‖ Page 320—323.

§ Page 319.

¶ Which book of Moses, delivered in the fortieth year of their abode in the wilderness, contains the later laws.

It seems that ostriches,* partridges,† quails,‡ doves,‖ besides some unclean birds,§ are found in those deserts through which Israel passed; they are now all used for food; might they not be tempted then to take them, if they found them sitting on their eggs or young? If they were, how came the prohibition not to have been earlier given?

That partridges, quails, &c. are good for food, is sufficiently known; it may be doubted of the ostrich, for which reason I would here set down a passage of Thevenot. "When they would catch ostriches, an Arab pursues them on horseback, at first gently, and they run away in the same manner, but still tiring a little. After two or three hours time, he rides faster, and then, when he sees his fowl almost spent, he puts on to a speed; and having taken and killed it, he makes a hole in the throat of it, and then having tied straight the neck under the hole, three or four of them take hold of it, and for some time toss and shake it from side to side, just as one would rinse and wash a barrel: when they think it is enough shaken, they untie the throat of it, and then a great deal of *mantegue*, or a kind of butter, comes running out at the holes, insomuch that they say some of them will yield above 20lbs weight of that stuff; for by that shaking, all the flesh of the creature is dissolved into mantegue, nothing remaining but skin and bones. This would have seemed fabulous to me, if several Barbary men had not assured me of it. They say that this mantegue is a very delicious food, but very apt to cause a looseness."¶

* Thevenot, p. 164; Shaw, p. 449.

† Egmont and Heyman, vol. 2, p. 171, and 172; they ascribe to a partridge what belongs to a quail, according to Thevenot, p. 168.

‡ Thevenot, p. 168; so Irwin found many quails in the deserts of Thebais.

‖ Seen by Shaw, p. 449.

§ The *achbobba* in particular, which feed on carrion like ravens, Shaw, p. 449.

¶ Page 164, 165.

As the ostrich is good for food, so also, it seems, are its eggs:* to say nothing of their being objects of attention, as being used much in the East, by way of ornament, for they are hung up in their places of public worship, along with many lamps, of which we have many instances.† If neither their feathers, nor eggshells, were in use then, as they both are now in the East; yet their use for food can hardly be supposed to be unknown. Why then was it not forbidden to Israel, while in the wilderness, to take an old bird with its eggs or young, as it was afterwards?

The answer is easy with respect to the ostrich, since it is in no danger of being taken with its eggs, it being a bird that deposits its eggs in the sand, and leaves them to be hatched by the heat of the ground alone, with incubation, as we learn from Job xxxix. 13, &c.

The other birds that are found in the deserts there, sit indeed on their eggs, but they were too few, perhaps, to require a law, and of too wild and shy a disposition, to run any considerable risque of being taken by those that might find their nests; or had their nests out of reach, as the dove, which builds in hollow places of the rocks, when in a wild state,‡ not to say that the old ones are not fit to eat, being too tough to be proper for food.

This may sufficiently account, for the silence of Moses on this point, in the first years of their wandering in the desert; but what occasion, it may be asked, was there to mention it at all? What eggs were they likely to meet with, after their residing in Canaan, of use to human life? or young birds whose dams were in danger of being

* Lemery, Dict. des Drogues, art. Struthio.

† Pococke's Trav. vol. 1, p 31. Dr. Richard Chandler, in his Travels in Asia Minor, perhaps was mistaken when he supposed, that the Turkish mosque at Magnesia was ornamented with lamps pendant from the ceiling, intermixed with *balls* of polished *ivory*, p. 267. *Ostrich eggs* might easily be mistaken for *ivory balls*; if not, they might be used as a succedaneum.

‡ Jer. xlviii. 28.

taken, through their attachment to their eggs or their young?

Some eggs might, possibly, be useful for food, and esteemed among the Jews, which were laid by wild fowl or birds; but the beauty of the shell might make many, especially of the younger sort, fond of taking the eggs of many of the birds of that country, which are, without doubt, numerous, though few in the desert. It could not but be right to endeavour to inspire the young with sentiments of tenderness toward the brute creation, forbidding them to take away the anxious dam with the nest.

To what I have said above is, however, to be added, the account Irwin has given of numbers of eggs laid by sea birds, on the sands upon or near the shores of the Red Sea. Speaking of a sandy island, under the lee of which his boat sheltered, he tells us, "Here our people gathered a quantity of eggs, which the birds lay upon the sandy reefs. They tell us these eggs are well tasted and wholesome; but we are not driven to such straits, as to be obliged to put up with all kinds of food."* But if *he* did not relish this kind of food, eggs were and are reckoned delicious eating in the East.

This adds to the difficulty, of accounting for Moses' not publishing this prohibition to Israel while in the wilderness, since it shows that there were many more sorts of birds, and greater quantities of eggs, which they might then have taken, than the preceding quotations led us to suppose, the Red Sea being so shallow, that the people may wade a great way in it, and might doubtless get to many of these reefs where the eggs are laid, especially if they now and then joined a little swimming to their wading. So Irwin gives an account of a poor woman's wading, and swimming, on this coast, in order to get some provision, though of a different kind from the eggs of wild fowl. June 15th, "a poor woman waded and swam through the water to our boat in the evening, and was

* Page 96.

very thankful for some measures of rice which she took away."*

Perhaps their being but seldom near the sea, might be one reason that the Jewish lawgiver did not think it necessary to announce this prohibition then, though there are many wild fowl in that sea, which lay their eggs in great numbers upon the adjoining sands.

OBSERVATION XXIV.

OF THE BEHEMOTH OR HIPPOPOTAMUS.

Dr. Shaw, with a multitude of other learned men, supposes the *behemoth* of the book of Job to be the hippopotamus, or river horse. He also apprehends, that the Prænestine pavement, of which he has given a draught, p. 422, 423, exhibits a true and not a romantic representation of the natural history of Egypt.

If these two suppositions be just, there is a great deal of beauty in the ranging the descriptions of the behemoth and the leviathan, which last, I think is now universally allowed to be the crocodile.

For in that Mosaic pavement, the people of an Egyptian bark are represented as darting spears or some such weapons, at one of the river horses; as another of them is pictured with two sticking near his shoulders. Consequently, if this piece of antiquity truly exhibits the managements of the Egyptians, according to the supposition, it was a customary thing with the old Egyptians thus to attack these animals. And if so, how beautiful is the arrangement! There is a most happy gradation: after a pompous, but just representation of the terribleness of the river horse, the Almighty is represented as going on with his expostulations, something after this manner: But dreadful as this animal is, barbed irons and spears have

* Page 83.

sometimes prevailed against him; but what wilt thou do with the crocodile? "Canst thou fill his skin with barbed irons, or his head with fish spears? the sword of him that layeth at him cannot hold; the spear, the dart, nor the habergeon. He esteemeth iron as straw, and brass as rotten wood. The iron cannot make him flee: slingstones are turned with him into stubble, darts are counted as stubble: he laughed at the shaking of a spear," &c.* *What wilt thou do with this creature, O Job!* This is finishing the expostulation in the strongest, in the most majestic manner.

I am not insensible that several authors have described the hippopotamus as nearly invulnerable. Maillet tells us, "its skin is two fingers thick, and that it is so much the more difficult to kill it, as there is only a small place in its forehead, where it can be wounded."† He adds, that "some Nubian servants that he had, informed him, that the skin of one of them, preserved at Sannar, would have been brought to him with difficulty by four camels." If their account could be depended upon, the skin of this animal must have weighed about as much again as that of the mighty elephant belonging to the king of the Two Sicilies, which died in the beginning of the year 1755, and which was described by the celebrated Abbé Nollet. The skin of this elephant when taken off, we are told, weighed seventy four stone and a half, avoirdupois weight.‡ But as the natural history of the hippopotamus is not sufficiently known, as Hasselquist justly remarks, on the one hand; and I am supposing the Prænestine-Mosaic pavement not romantic, on the other; we are to consider it as vulnerable, and pursued by the Egyptians with spears and barbed irons, while nothing of that sort appears to be done there to the crocodiles, which are also figured in that pavement.

It is further to be observed, that these river horses appear, in this celebrated pavement, on the hillocks that are

* Job. xli. 7, 26—29. † Let. 9, p. 31. ‡ Annual Register for 1761.

seen here and there, rising above the water, among the vegetables growing upon them: may we not believe these are the hills, the mountains as our translation renders the word, *which bring him forth food: where all the beasts of the field play?* ver. 20. It is certain the altar of GOD, which was only ten cubits high and fourteen square, is called הר אל *har el*, the *mountain of* GOD, Ezek. xliii. 15.* The eminences then of Egypt, which appear as the inundation of the Nile decreases, may undoubtedly be called mountains in the poetical language of the book of Job. Nor is it any wonder that these animals are pictured in this pavement on these eminences, since the Turkey wheat is what they are fond of, and this vegetable appears from time to time in these eminences. So Hasselquist tells us, that when he went to the burying place of the Mummies, he saw, on the seventeenth of September, "the places not yet overflown, or where it had already begun to decrease, appeared clothed with a charming verdure, a great part sown with Turkey wheat, and some parts, though but few, with lucern."† And on the other hand he tells us in another place, "that the river horse does much damage to the Egyptians, in those places he frequents, destroying in a short space of time an entire field of corn or clover, not leaving the least verdure as he passes: being voracious, and requiring much to fill his great belly." This agrees with Maillet's account, who tells us, "it is incredible how pernicious he is to the productions of the earth, desolating the fields, and eating, in all places through which he passes, the ears of corn, especially the Turkey wheat."‡

Hasselquist, in the first of the two last citations, goes on to inform us, that, "innumerable kinds of birds were to be seen on the places not under water . . . . . all which excited his attention, but not so much as the crane called *ibis:* I thought this most remarkable, as an incred-

* Consult the original, or the margin of our translation.

† Page 84, 85. ‡ Lett. 9, p. 31.

ible number covered the fields. We see birds accordingly, upon some of the hillocks of the Prænestine pavement, and beasts, in great variety, upon others." This answers that other clause in Job, *Where all the beasts of the fields play*, or are pleased, and enjoy themselves. All the wild beasts of the countries where the elephant resides are not mountaineers; and if they were, it would be difficult to assign a reason why that circumstance should be mentioned in a description of the terribleness of the elephant; but all the quadrupeds of Egypt are obliged to retire to these eminences, when the Nile overflows, and the coming of a hippopotamus among them, and destroying all the verdure of the places of their retirement, augments our ideas of the terribleness of this creature.

A rhinoceros appears on one of these eminences, a most powerful, warlike, and well guarded animal, but most probably not known in Egypt so early as the time of Job, and therefore not taken notice of in the expostulations of God with him.

OBSERVATION XXV.

OF THE FISH IN EGYPT.

Immediately after those verses of the nineteenth of Isaiah, which I had before occasion to cite, mention is made of the fishers of Egypt; and it appears from Num. xi. 5, *We remember the fish which we did eat in Egypt freely*, that there are great quantities of fish in that country: what therefore le Bruyn has said, and Dr. Wells repeated from him, in vol. ii. of his Historical Geography of the Old Testament,* may appear surprising to some readers: I mean that the Nile, whether from the muddiness of its waters, or the numerousness of the crocodiles

* Page 67.

in it, has not many fish. As no commentator, that I know of, has touched upon this difficulty, it is a proper subject for these papers.

In the first place then, fish might be very plentiful in Egypt, though they do not appear in great numbers in the stream of the Nile. There are several lakes and reservoirs of water in that country, in which they may appear in great quantities, and certainly do. Le Bruyn himself would not have contested this: for speaking of a lake two Italian miles to the east of Damietta, called the Dead Sea, he says, it was extremely full of fish.* Other lakes are doubtless, as full. Great quantities are catched in that called Mœris, according to Dr. Pococke, especially when the lake is low, and carried to Faiume market, where they are sold very cheap.† Maillet also assures us, that there must be a prodigious number of fish in Egypt, since there are sometimes assembled upon those lakes or ponds to which the water game repair, an hundred thousand *agobilles*, a voracious kind of fowl, of which each devours at least three or four pounds of fish every day.‡ He adds, that the coasts of the Lower Egypt are equally rich in fish, and that an infinity of fish of different sorts are taken in the Red Sea; so that fish may be extremely plentiful and cheap in Egypt, if but few should be found directly in the Nile, which le Bruyn affirms, but which Maillet denies. Curiosity in the mean while may lead a person to endeavour to decide this difference, but the honor of the Scriptures by no means engages us to this, since they are ponds for fish that the Prophet speaks of, and the fishers are supposed to angle in the brooks, or canals cut from the Nile, as the word signifies.

Some fish, however, the Scriptures seem to suppose, are in the river itself, *The fish that is in the river shall die*, Exod. vii. 18: which, as le Bruyn does not deny, so Norden gives us to understand, is the fact, by his ac-

* Extraordinairement poissonneuse, tome 1, p. 576. † Vol. 1, p. 65.

‡ Lett. 9, p. 21, 25.

count of his finding a native of Barbary fishing at the cataract, who, by the assistance of a little hook, made Norden catch some excellent carp, which the Barbarian himself carried for him to the bark;* and his speaking afterward of fish as plentiful there, when he gives an account of his return to the cataract on the eleventh of January.† Maillet in like manner speaks of carp in the Nile, as well as of various other kinds of fish there,‡ observing with surprise, that though there is an astonishing quantity of fish in that river, excepting eels,‖ there are hardly any of our sorts of river fish to be found in it. To this he adds, as an amazing curiosity, that in the months of December, January, and February, they catch very good herrings in the neighbourhood of Cairo, but none at Rosetto, and very few at Damietta, by which they must pass in their way to Cairo; nor are they ever found in the Mediterranean.

Sandys agrees with Maillet, in his account of an abundance of fish in the Nile, and of their differing much from ours in shape and quality. He says, that in going up the Nile, they often bought as much fish by the way for sixpence, as would have satisfied twenty people;§ but informs us that, by reason of the muddy channel, they were not altogether savoury nor wholesome.¶ Egmont and Heyman agree with Sandys, as to the muddy taste of the Nile in general, but affirm that there are several sorts of fish which are very palatable: they mention four sorts in particular, one of which is said to weigh between two and three hundred pounds; and two other sorts weigh near thirty pounds a fish. All which are caught, they say, at all seasons in the Nile.**

* Part 2, p. 115, 119. † Page 167. ‡ Lett. 9, p. 25.

‖ To which we must add the carp, which he speaks of.

§ Sandys, p. 92. ¶ Page 78. ** Vol. 2, p. 220.

OBSERVATION XXVI.

TIMES IN WHICH THE EGYPTIANS LIVE WHOLLY ON FISH.

The fish of Egypt are eaten in common with pleasure by the inhabitants of that country; but in April and May, which is the hot season there, they scarcely eat any thing else but fish, with pulse and herbs: the great heat taking away their appetite for all sorts of meat.

This is Dr. Pococke's account, vol. 1, p. 182. Maillet says much the same,* Both agree that they are the months of April and May, in which they eat no flesh, and that it is owing to the great heats, which, Maillet says, are occasioned by the south winds that then blow. Maillet further tells us, that Mohammedans and Christians, and people of all sorts that inhabit Egypt, adopt this custom, which is a very ancient one; and that the fish which is eaten at this time, is of two sorts, the one fresh, and the other dried in the sun, which, though it comes from the Red Sea, is prepared at Damietta. That they eat also quantities of fish of another sort, prepared with nothing more than salt and water, being a kind of small muscles, very much resembling those of France. The great themselves, he tell us, have no other food at this season.

Perhaps it may be imagined, that the complaint of the children of Israel in the wilderness, *We remember the fish which we did eat in Egypt freely, the cucumbers, the melons*, &c. *but now our soul is dried away, there is nothing at all, besides this manna*, Num. xi. 5, 6, arose from the same cause, the peculiar sultriness of the weather, and their being accustomed in these hot seasons to eat fish, and refreshing vegetables, and consequently that they were somewhat hardly dealt with, in being punished with death, on account of this pining for the wonted diet of

* Lett. 11, p. 109, 110.

such times. But it is most probable, that the complaint of Israel rather proceeded from a wayward and perverse kind of luxuriousness, and for that reason drew down such a severe animadversion from Heaven. So de Vitriaco tells us,* that some of the more delicate Egyptians pined to death, when Damietta was besieged, A. D. 1218, though they had a sufficiency of corn, for want of the food they were used to, pompions, garlick, onions, fish, birds, fruit, herbs, &c. It appears at least very clear, that the Israelites did not arrive at this station till the latter end of May, if before June, from Num. x. 1; and it seems to have been some time after that before this murmuring, Num. xi. 1; so that either the south winds do not blow at the same time in the desert, that they are wont to do in Egypt, or this complaint did not arise from that cause.

OBSERVATION XXVII.

MANNER OF CATCHING FISH IN EGYPT.

In the Mosaic pavement at Præneste, is a representation of those toils with which the Egyptians were wont to catch fish. These toils, Dr. Shaw tells us, continue to be used by the Egyptians to this day. They are made up of several hurdles of reeds, fixed in various windings and directions, and ending in a small point: into which the fish being driven, they are taken out with nets or baskets, as there represented. The same method, he had before observed, is made use of on the coast of Barbary.†

The Doctor goes no further; but Maillet affirms, that they make no use of nets at all in Egypt. He mentions this indeed occasionally, but in such a manner as shows he was assured of the fact; for having mentioned several methods the Egyptians made use of for catching croc-

* Gesta Dei, &c. p. 1142.

† In a note on p. 424.

odiles, he says,* "Others take this animal in a way that I can give no account of, but I am very sure it cannot be with nets, since they are not in use in this country." And accordingly we find nothing that looks like a net in that pavement.

Nets are used in other countries in the Levant. Dr. Pococke expressly says, that they went in a boat on the lake of Tiberias, and that they diverted themselves with fishing with casting nets, which they use there, throwing whenever they see the fish.† The not using them in Egypt then, I should think, must be in consequence of its being an old custom not to use them in that country.

If they have never been in use in that country, in what light must we look upon some translations of Isaiah xix. 8, 9, 10, where, though *nets* were not used in Egypt, the word occurs in the singular, or plural number, no less than three times in a description of the Egyptian fishery? Such a translation is that of Pagninus, even as corrected by Arias Montanus; and such is that of the curious Vitringa. Fishing with a hook is an Egyptian practice: in that manner the Barbarian fished, that Norden met with near the cataract; and the figure of a man in a boat, fishing after that manner, seems to appear in the Prænestine pavement. Fishing with toils is Egyptian also, and may be supposed to be referred to in the 8th verse, where toils might have been put in the room of the word nets. As for the other two verses, the learned are not agreed as to the precise sense of them; and for my part, I shall take no other notice of them, than just to observe, that the Septuagint translators, who are supposed to have lived in this country, saw nothing of nets in them.

It ought however to be acknowledged, that these translators seem to have been doubtful, whether a word used in the 8th verse might not be intended to signify nets, for they have expressed there both toils and nets, if I understand them right: *And the fishermen shall groan,*

* Let. 9. † Vol. 2, p. 69.

and all that cast a hook into the river, shall groan; and they that throw nets, and they that set toils, shall mourn.* But whether we can from hence certainly conclude, that nets were used in Egypt in the days of these translators, may be questioned; as may Maillet's account of the fishing with nets, in the lake at Memphis, in ancient days once in three years, nets at other times being only used by the Egyptian kings of those times; for this account is taken, not from any contemporary author, but Arabs who wrote long after, and perhaps these not cited with the utmost accuracy, which certainly was not the distinguishing talent of this French writer. What he says of the not using nets in these times, is much more to be depended on, as he speaks there from his own knowledge of the usages of the country.

Nets are however used in Egypt for the catching of birds, for Egmont and Heyman assure us, they saw them set among the reeds by the sea side for quails, vol. 2, p. 206, 207; though they are not used, if Maillet speaks truth, in their fishing.

OBSERVATION XXVIII.

OF THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF HERBS USED FOR FOOD IN EGYPT.

THERE seems to be a good deal of reason to question the accuracy of our translation of Numb. xi. 5: *We remember the fish which we did eat in Egypt freely: the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick.*

I am not the first that has called the justness of this translation into question: the learned and celebrated Lu-

* Οι Αμφιβολεις, which word may signify fishermen in general; but here, seems to be particularly expressive of those that set toils in various windings and directions, which Dr. Shaw speaks of.

dolphus was not satisfied with those versions, which, like ours, represent the children of Israel as complaining for want of the *leeks* they were wont to eat in Egypt: yet these translations are conformable to that of the Seventy, an Egyptian work. Ludolphus, from the Arabic, has proposed to translate the third word *lettuce*, or *sallads* in general,* instead of leeks.

To enable us to judge of this in the fairest manner, it is requisite to consider what are the most common things that are at this time eaten in Egypt, and which are more especially grateful on account of their cooling qualities, or least disgustful in very hot weather. It appears from a preceding Observation, that fish was eagerly desired by the Egyptians in hot weather; and these vegetables without doubt were such as were wont to be eaten at such times, or at least were found to be cooling, and on that account pleasurable.

Maillet then in describing the vegetables that the Egyptians use for food,† tells us, that melons, cucumbers and onions, are some of the most common; and concerning the last of these, he says, they are sweeter than in any other place in the world; that an hundred pounds weight of them may be sometimes purchased for eight or ten sols;‡ and that there is such an abundance of them,

* See Bishop Patrick on the place. The Bishop, however, has been guilty of a little oversight, when he supposes the word *chatzir*, the third word, is translated *onions*; that is the word that is translated *leeks*. HARMER.

The words of the original with the Septuagint and English translations are the following:

1. הקשאים *ha kishaeem*, τους σικυους, the *cucumbers*.
2. האבטחים *ha abaticheem*, τους πεπονας, the *melons*.
3. החציר *he chatseer*, τα πρασα, the *leeks*.
4. הכצלים *ha betsaleem*, τα κρομμυα, the *onions*.
5. השומים *ha shoomeem*, τα σκορδα, the *garlick*.

The reader will have occasion to recur to these as he proceeds with this *Observation*. EDIT.

† Let. 9. ‡ A sol is not worth much more than an halfpenny.

that they fill all the streets of Cairo, where they sell them ready prepared for eating. He observes, that there grows wild in the fields of Egypt a succory, or endive, a thousand times sweeter than that of our gardens; that it comes up naturally in the meadows, without any art for its improvement, but is found much more plentifully on the side of Matarée, than in any part of the country: none but Franks, he further tells, take any pains to have it blanched; as to the common people, they take it just as they find it, and half of them scarcely eat any thing else. He tells us also, that purslane is very common here; that the Roman lettuces begin in November, and continue to April. These lettuces are all very good, but those that are sown last are much preferable to the others. They have a sugar like taste, so agreeable, that they eat them without salt, without oil, without vinegar. "I myself," Maillet says, "do the same, without being able to say whether I am led to it by example, or the nature of the thing itself." These, with radishes, carrots, beans, and the leaves of the vine, are all the things of this kind, I think, which he speaks of as eaten in Egypt, excepting a plant that grows near the mountains of that country, the pith of which the Arabs, who are shepherds, as the Israelites were, he was told, were wont to dry for food.* To which we are to add, I presume, the ancient lotus; whether we are to understand by it the colocassia, which Maillet says, is common in that country, and its root very good to eat when properly dressed, and which, according to Mons. Belon, the Egyptians actually boil with most of their meat;† or whether we understand it of a plant more nearly resembling the nymphæa, or water lily, and which, perhaps, is described by du Halde in his History of China.‡ Be it the one or the other, or a vegetable

* Let. 9, p. 18. † See Ray's Collect. of Travels, part 2, p. 92.

‡ Astley's collection of Voyages and Travels gives this account of it from du Halde, "In artificial fish ponds, and often in the marshes, there grows a flower called *lyen wha*, in much esteem with the Chinese. By the leaves,

different from both, it appears in the Prænestine table, rising up every where in the waters of Egypt, in the time of the inundation of that country,* and consequently we may believe, grew wild in Egypt, in the time the Israelites sojourned there, as it did at the time of making that table.

Let us now consider what are those vegetables they were most likely to wish for in a time of great heat, when they were wont particularly to desire fish. Cucumbers, every body knows, are extremely cooling and refreshing to the Eastern people in hot weather. Melons are the same. We may then pay that deference, I think, to the Egyptian translation of the Seventy, as to suppose they were two of the things the Israelites longed for in the wilderness.

Maillet makes no mention of leeks in his catalogue of the edible vegetables of Egypt; they then could hardly be meant. Nor are leeks, I think, reckoned to be of a cooling nature. But what seems to put it out of all reasonable doubt is, the same word is used to express the food of horses and mules, 1 Kings xviii. 5, which can hardly therefore be allowed to mean *leeks*, but may very well

the fruit, and stalk, it appears to be the *nenuphar*, *nymphæa*, or *water lily*; which is but little valued in Europe." Upon which this collector observes in a note, that du Halde elsewhere says, it differs much from the water lily, as well in the fruit, as the blossom and root. Then after having said in the text, from du Halde, that whole lakes are covered with its flowers, and that it shoots up above the top of the water, a yard, or a yard and a half &c. he says, "its colour is either violet, or white, or partly red, and partly white: the smell is very agreeable: its fruit is of the size of an hazel nut, the kernel whereof is white, and well tasted. The physicians prescribe it to nourish and strengthen people weakened by long sickness; it is also very cooling in summer. The leaves are long and float on the water. . . The root is knotty, like that of reeds; its pith and substance are very white. This plant is esteemed all over the empire, every part of it being of use; they even make meal of it, which serves for several occasions." Vol. 4, p. 304, 305. If modern describers of this Chinese plant contradict themselves, in their accounts of it, shall we wonder at some inaccuracies in the ancient descriptions of the lotus? The curious would do well in publishing an exact account of this Chinese plant, and in determining whether the same does not grow in Egypt.

* For an accurate description, see Observation xxxi.

stand for such vegetables as grew promiscuously with grass, which the *succory* or *endive*, it seems, does; for Maillet tells us it comes up naturally in the meadows. The same word then that denotes grass, may very well be supposed to include the herbs that grew among the grass, and particularly this succory or endive, which are mentioned by the writers on the Materia Medica as very cooling plants. Whether the word means lettuce too, and all salads in general, as Ludolphus supposes, is not so certain. If half the ancient Egyptians eat the succory or endive, and scarcely any thing else, as Maillet observes of those of modern times, this vegetable must, without doubt, be included in some of the words here made use of, most probably in the third, *we remember the cucumbers, the melons, the herbage we did eat in the land of Egypt.*

In like manner, one can hardly imagine that the fifth word means garlick: for though I find by Niebuhr, that garlick is made use of by the modern Arabs, as a preservative against the deadly quality of their hot winds; for speaking of several that have perished immediately by the smum,* he says, "more have lived some hours; others have been recovered by the refreshments the Arabs generally carried with them in journeying, such as garlick and raisins, and which they make use of with success, in recalling to life persons nearly stifled," p. 3; yet we are assured by Dr. Hasselquist, p. 290, 291, that garlick does not grow in Egypt; and though it is much used, it is brought from the islands of the Archipelago. Now if in these times garlick continues to be imported from those islands, we cannot suppose they were things that the enslaved Israelites were much acquainted with, when residing in Egypt in those elder times. Perhaps the roots of the colocassia might be meant, which are large, Maillet tells us, almost round, and of a reddish colour; and as

* A destructive hot wind, which frequently blows in their deserts, called by Dr. Russell, in his History of Aleppo the sumyel.

being near a kin to the nymphæa, I should suppose the colocassia is very cooling.

But be this as it may, we may suppose the Egyptian translators of the Septuagint were right in supposing one of these five words meant *onions:* since, though they do not appear to us to possess any very cooling qualities, yet they are, and were anciently very much used for food in Egypt; and it is to be remembered, the Egyptian onions differ considerably from ours. So Hasselquist tells us, "Whoever has tasted onions in Egypt, must allow that none can be had better in any part of the universe: here they are sweet, in other countries they are nauseous and strong; here they are soft, whereas in the north, and other parts, they are hard, and the coats so compact, that they are hard of digestion. Hence they cannot in any place be eaten with less prejudice, and more satisfaction than in Egypt. They eat them roasted, cut into four pieces, with some bits of roasted meat, which the Turks, in Egypt, call kebab; and with this dish they are so delighted, that I have heard them wish they might enjoy it in Paradise. They likewise make a soup of them in Egypt, cutting the onion in small pieces: this, I think, is one of the best dishes I ever eat." Perhaps it may not be amiss to add, that according to Plaistead, those that travel the deserts now frequently take onions with them, along with other provisions, p. 31: if they did so anciently, these complaining Israelites could hardly forget the onions of Egypt, when in the desert they were pining for what they had enjoyed among the Egyptians.

I would only further add, that it was of the fish only that the text expressly observes the Israelites had eaten freely, חנם *chinnam* or *gratis*, in Egypt; but we may believe the other things were such as they could procure with little trouble there: this was certainly true with respect to the endive or succory, and the colocassia we have been speaking of, which appear to have grown wild there; and with respect to the cucumbers, the melons,

and the onions, they might be indulged with the liberty of places in which they might sow these plants, and receive the benefit of them. The wild Arabs of Egypt now enjoy that liberty: so Captain Norden found the borders of the canal of Cleopatra, near Alexandria, peopled by divers flying camps of the Bedouins, or wandering Arabs,* in June or July,† about which time Egmont and Heyman found the same canal almost dry, and in it vast numbers of cucumbers, of which they eat some, and found them very palatable‡.

OBSERVATION XXIX.

DELICACY OF THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF GAME IN EGYPT.

It is no wonder to find birds, in de Vitriaco's catalogue of the things that the people of delicacy pined for, when besieged in Damietta, there are several of exquisite taste in Egypt. Norden, who differs extremely in his notions of this country from Maillet, its perpetual encomiast, and speaks of Egypt with the same freedom, that the ingenious author of the voyage of Lord Anson round the world does of the celebrated empire of China, yet allows this in more places than one, as appears by the following extracts:

"NOVEMBER 21. Our people fired upon abundance of pigeons, and killed some; but they were out of season, and so hard that we could not eat them.

"They found their account better in killing a sort of a partridge, that was delicious, and of the size of our red partridges. They had feathers like those of the Guinea hens, and the tail like a swallow. Their flesh has an aromatic taste, and a great deal of flavour. There was no one in our bark that knew them.

* Vol. 1, p. 17. † Preface, p. 19.

‡ Vol. 2, ch, 8.

"NOVEMBER 29. They killed however a goose of the Nile, whose plumage was extremely beautiful. But what was still better, it was of an exquisite aromatic taste, smelt of ginger, and had a great deal of flavour.*

"NOVEMBER 30. Our people that day had good success in game. They brought, amongst other things, three coromanes, a sort of bird of the size of a woodcock, of a delicious taste; but still more esteemed on account of its fine note."

It is no wonder that the Egyptians of Damietta pined for birds when shut up there, since there are so many extremely delicious in that country; their young house pigeons must in consequence be very excellent, since Maillet assures us,† they are highly esteemed there, and that they are indeed one of the best eatables that they have in that country. When therefore Thevenot tells us, that they catch wild turtles in Egypt, which are very good, but the house pigeons are good for nothing,‡ he is no otherwise to be reconciled with Maillet, than by supposing, as captain Norden does, that at some times they are out of season, and that Thevenot happened to eat them at such a time. They were grown old.

It seems however from Thevenot, that at the very time that house pigeons are so very indifferent, turtles are very good. And for this reason I suppose it was, that the law of Moses ordered them to offer on particular occasions two pigeons or two turtles; not merely according to the pleasure of the offerer, but according as they were in season: pigeons being sometimes quite hard and unfit for eating, at which times turtles are very good in Egypt, and, as we may suppose, in the Holy Land.

Agreeably to this we find that Moses expressly enjoined *young pigeons*,‖ and with reason, since the sacri-

* They killed a dozen of these geese of the Nile, February 1st, and some, December 14.

† Let. 9, p. 22. ‡ Part 1, p. 247.

‖ See Gen. xv. 9. Lev. i. 14; v. 7; xii. 6, 8; xiv. 22, 30. Luke ii. 24.

fices of God were to be of the best; and these creatures grow very disagreeable as they grow old. There is not the same restraint as to turtle doves: they are birds of passage, and are very good, when they appear in those countries, in which point Maillet expressly* agrees with Thevenot. The Jewish doctors however have put their limitations upon those birds,† young turtle doves being, according to them, unlawful, as pigeons are, when old, are not allowable, if they are in the right, until after they wax *golden coloured*. Whether this is any more than a fancy derived from the words of the Psalmist, Psalm lxviii. 13, or whether turtle doves are really not so good to eat until they are thus coloured, which can be the only just reason to suppose them unlawful, does not appear from any thing I have met with in reading, so far as I can recollect. The silence of Moses upon the point is rather unfavourable to those that sit in his chair.

The number of pigeon houses is extremely great in Egypt, each habitation being terminated at the top by a pigeon house, above three quarters of the way from the first cataract to Cairo;‡ they are numerous also in Lower Egypt.‖ Maundrell found them as plentiful in some parts of Syria;§ and there is reason to suppose, that in the time that the Jews were in their own country, they were as numerous there. Pigeons however do not seem to have bred as early in Palestine as in Egypt, since it appears by a citation in Lightfoot,¶ that their not being fledged, and fit for use, was one cause anciently of intercalating the year: young pigeons then were not to be commonly had in Judea till the Passover, that is, till April or May; but we find there are young ones in Egypt, at least in the Upper Egypt, much earlier, for Dr. Pococke had a present of twelve pigeons made him in January or February.**

* Let. 9, p. 21. † See Ainsworth on Lev. i. 14.
‡ Norden, p. 20, vol. 2. ‖ Le Bruyn, tom. 1, p. 588.
§ Page 6. ¶ Vol. 2, p. 185. ** Vol. 1, p. 116.

As for the other delicious birds that Norden speaks of, the swallow tailed partridges, the coromanes, and the geese of the Nile, it does not appear whether their Jew that attended them eat of them. But surely one of that nation of a scrupulous conscience must be uneasy, lest he should eat one or other of those birds which were forbidden by the law of Moses, when travelling in these countries, since they cannot now be ascertained: one sure evidence, among others as striking, that this dispensation must be ended, which gives leave to those that are under it, to catch birds, and to eat them, after having poured out their blood, but forbids the eating of some species, which cannot now be distinguished from the rest, at least many of them. A divine dispensation could never be intended to outlive the knowledge necessary to the observation of its precepts.

It is not perfectly satisfying to the mind to suppose, that the law could not intend to refer to birds which probably were not known in the Jewish country, for those ceremonial injunctions, it is most likely, had some relation to Egyptian affairs; but what is more, some of the delicious birds of Egypt were found also in Palestine; so Egmont and Heyman found a bird in Egypt about the size of a thrush, but of a green colour, whose flesh was remarkably palatable, which they affirm are very common in Palestine. Vol. ii. p. 112.

OBSERVATION XXX.

OF THE OLIVE AND ITS PRODUCE IN EGYPT.

Though Maillet tells us that olive trees thrive to a wonder in this country, and produce fruit very commonly as large as walnuts,* yet Bishop Pococke assures us, that

* Let. 9, p. 16.

the country about Arsinoë was the only part of Egypt that naturally produced the olive, and that it was cultivated by art in the gardens of Alexandria,* which he seems to mention as a wonder, because the olive tree flourishes in the South of France.

Whatever then a few cultivated trees might produce, Egypt could not be a country remarkable for oil of olives, which yet is one great comfort of life in the Eastern countries, being very much used there for food. At the same time oil was wanted for lights which must not only have been very numerous necessarily in such a thick peopled country; but was used by the ancient Egyptians in great quantities for illuminations, which are still very frequent in these countries, and especially in those months in which the Nile overflows, of which Maillet gives a most amusing description,† and which we may suppose more or less even in the prophetic time. To which also is to be added the custom that obtains universally in this country; of keeping lamps burning during the night, in all the apartments of a house that are made use of; which occasions Maillet to say, that perhaps there is no country in the world in which so much oil is consumed as in Egypt.‡

This great consumption of oil occasioned them anciently to draw it from other vegetables, as well as olives, and occasions them to do it still. A plant in particular called *cirika*, which a good deal resembles wild succory, furnishes them with a good deal of oil; but as its smell is very disagreeable, and its light not so good as that of olive oil, it is not burnt by people of condition, or those that would be thought to be such.‖

Syria, on the contrary, was a land of oil, and it was produced in great quantities in that part of it which the

* Vol. 1, p. 57.

† Lett. 2, p. 80.

‡ Lett. 9, p. 16.

‖ La même, p. 10, 111.

Jews inhabited;* it is no wonder then, that when the Jews wanted to court the Egyptians, they sent them a present of oil, which the Prophet Hosea upbraided them with, ch. xii. 1: it was what their country produced in large quantities, and it is what was highly accceptable in Egypt.

OBSERVATION XXXI.

OF THE MOSAIC PAVEMENT AT PRÆNESTE, RELATING TO SOME OF THE ANIMALS AND PLANTS OF EGYPT AND ETHIOPIA.†

Till the Scripture *zoology* and *botany* are more fully and accurately considered and understood, it may be a digression, not at all foreign to this subject, to give the reader, as an introduction to them both, a short description of the Mosaic Pavement at Præneste; which lays before us, in a very beautiful manner, not only a great variety of the *animals*, but of the *plants* likewise, that are mentioned in the sacred writings. The whole is a very valuable and instructive piece of antiquity; and presents us with a great number and variety of curious objects, relating both to the civil and to the natural history of Egypt and Ethiopia, than are any where else to be met with.‡

This pavement was found in the ruins of the temple of *Fortune* at *Palestrine*, the ancient Præneste, about 21 miles from Rome. It is formed of small stones of different colours, disposed with such art and neatness as to

* See Deut. viii. 8; 2 Kings xviii. 32, and Dr. Shaw, p. 339.

† See the history, &c. of this Mosaic Pavement in Father Montfaucon's Antiquities, vol. xiv. and see Dr. Shaw's Travels, 4to. Edit. p. 423.

‡ This curious piece of antiquity is referred to by Mr. Harmer, in Observation xxvii. p. 42, of this vol. Father Montfaucon and he are not of the same mind concerning the subjects of it. The former thinks that Sylla, by whose orders it was constructed, designed only by it to represent the games, &c. of the Nile, of Egypt, and Ethiopia. Edit.

make it comparable to some of the finest paintings. It represents Egypt, and a part of Ethiopia, though not laid down in a geographical manner, nor according to the rules of perspective. It exhibits tracts of land, mountains, vallies, branches of the Nile, lakes, quadrupeds, and fish of various sorts, and a great many birds. Several of the beasts have names not found in historians, though it is probable some of these are corrupted through the ignorance of copyists. It represents also huntsmen, and fishermen, gallies, boats, men and women in different dresses, great and small buildings of different kinds, obelisks, arbours, trees, and plants, with a great variety of the most curious particulars relative to the times in which it was formed.

A passage in Pliny, Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. c. 25, shows us *when* and by *whom* this pavement was made: *Lithostrata cœptavere jam sub Sylla, parvulis, certe crustis, extat hodieque quod in Fortunæ delubro Prænestefecit.* "The Mosaic pavement, *lithrostrata*, were certainly begun to be made under the dictatorship of Sylla: they are composed of small stones, and there still remains one, which he caused to be made in the temple of Fortune at Præneste." It is well known that this city was considered as a place of refuge among the Romans, and during the disputes between Sylla and Marius, the son of the latter was besieged here by Sylla's troops, who took the city, massacred 4000 of the inhabitants, and sold the rest for slaves. Sylla being after this made Dictator, formed the pavement in question, but with what design is not very evident.

The conquest of Egypt, which seems to be that part of Alexander's history which is here represented, is displayed with all imaginable art and elegance. We see that hero, standing, in a commanding attitude, under a magnificent tent or canopy, attended by his warlike companions, and impatiently waiting for the tribute and sub-

mission of the Persians (β); which, in a very solemn procession they are hastening to pay him.*

On the right side of this curious group, and all the way from thence, to the utmost extent of the pavement, we are entertained at every turn, amidst a variety of plants and animals, with different prospects of cities, (γ) temples (δ) castles (ε) bowers (ζ) dove houses (ϛ) toils† for fish (y) the method of sitting at their banquets (x) &c. We see the fashion also of the Egyptian boats (η) and of the Grecian galleys (ϑ) together with the quality of their sails and oars; and in what manner they are each of them managed, conducted, and employed. The habits and dress, the arms likewise and weapons of the Greeks, no less than of the Egyptians and Ethiopians, are often exhibited: and from the *scorpion*, which is charged upon some of the Grecian shields, we may conclude them to have been of *Commagene*, and that the bearing of such like military devices was much older than the crusades. Besides all this variety of objects, we are entertained with a view of their respective actions, exercises, and diversions: and under the lower bower (ζ) we see a person playing upon an instrument; the very same with the *gaspah* of the present Arabs, on the German flute of these times. The fashion likewise of their cups, or, as we may rather call them, drinking horns, is here depicted.

At *Heliopolis* (Ξ) i.e. *Bethshemesh*, or the *house* or *city of the sun*, Jer. xliii. 13, we are very agreeably entertained with the obelisks (ξ) that were erected before it.‡ This city is further distinguished by a beautiful temple (π) the *temple of the sun*, with the priests (P)

* The Greek letters, both large and small, in this description, refer to those on the *plate*.

† These toils continue to be used by the Egyptians to this day. They are made up of several hurdles of reeds, fixed, in some convenient part of the river, in various windings and directions, and ending in a small point; into which the fish being driven, are taken out with nets or baskets, as is here represented. The like practice has been taken notice of before.

‡ Vid. Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 38. Strab. l. xvii. p. 554, ed. Casaub. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 8.

standing before the portico,* clothed in white linen garments;† circumstances, which are all of them very applicable to the ancient history of this city. The figure likewise, as it appears to be, of a well, (σ) makes part of this group; the bottom whereof is of a blue colour, to denote the epithet of *cærulea*, that was applicable to water.‡ This too might have been designed to represent *fons solis* or *ain el shims*;‖ the same fountain of fresh water, for which *Mattarea*, as *Heliopolis* is now called, continues to be remarkable.

After *Heliopolis* we have the prospect of Babylon, (Σ) so called from the Babylonians, who were the founders of it. It is distinguished by a round tower, or castle, (ε) the Φρκριον ερυμνον, as *Strabo*§ calls it, being the first part of the city that was built. Babylon was formerly called *Latopolis*, as it is at present Old and New Cairo; and, together with Heliopolis, made part of the land of Goshen.

On the other side of the river, toward Libya, is the city Memphis (Ω) distinguished by several colossal statues (ω) Hermes's, or mummies rather; the *stantia busto corpora*, as Silius Italicus¶ expresses it. The particular shape and figure of the basement (ψ) upon which the city is built, may be very well intended to represent the banks and ramparts, that were raised on each side of it, to secure it from the inundations and ravages of the Nile.

Upon a review, therefore, of all these remarkable circumstances, so applicable to Alexander's expedition in particular, and to the ancient state of Egypt in general; there appears to be no small proof and evidence, that the artist, whether Greek or Roman, had made himself as well acquainted with the topography and civil history of Egypt, as, from the following circumstances, he will appear to have been conversant in the natural.

* Strab. ut supra, p. 553, 4. † Herod. Eut. p. 116, ed. Steph.

‡ Ovid. Met. l. viii. ver. 229. ‖ Vid. not. 8, p. 306.

§ Lib. xvii. p. 1160. ¶ Lib. xiii. v. 475.

If we begin then with the animals; it may be observed of them, in general, that, I. Some being better known, we may imagine, than the rest, are therefore delineated without names. II. Others have their names annexed to them in Greek capitals; of which some are well known. III. Others though their names are known, yet the animals themselves have not been accurately described. IV. Others again there are, whose names are either unknown, or else have a dubious signification. I shall treat of these in their order.

I. Among those therefore of the first class, the precedency shall be given to the *crocodile*, (H) which from the scaly quality, Ezek. xxix. 4, and hardness of his coat, or, because *his scales* so stick *together that they cannot be sundered*, Job xli. 17, is therefore in no danger, ver. 7, of *having his skin filled with barbed irons*, or *his head with fish spears*. The *crocodile* likewise is of too great weight and magnitude, ver. 1, to be drawn out of the river, as fish usually are, with a hook. The *crocodile* then, from these apposite characteristics, may be well taken for the *leviathan*, as it is described in the book of Job, and elsewhere alluded to in the Holy Scriptures: where the *leviathan* is called the *piercing serpent*, or *dragon*, Is. xxvii. 1, where Pharaoh is called the *great dragon* or *leviathan*, Ezek. xxix. 3, where the *heads* also of the *leviathan*, i.e. of *Pharaoh* or *Egypt*, are said to be *broken in pieces*, Ps. lxxiv. 14, otherwise expressed, in the preceding verse, by breaking the heads of the dragons in the waters, or in the Red Sea. See Ezek. xv. 6. There is no small probability likewise, as in the earlier ages, there was no great propriety in the Latin names of animals, that the *dragon* or *serpent*, such a one as *Regulus* is said to have defeated, with so much difficulty, upon the banks of the *Bagradas*, was no other than the *crocodile*. For this animal alone, from the enormous size to which it sometimes arrives; from the almost impenetrable quality of its skin, which, we read, would hardly submit to the force of warlike engines, will best answer, as none of the *serpent* kind, properly so called, will do, to that description.

The *hippopotamus*, or *river horse* (I) is here expressed, as hiding and sheltering itself among the reeds of the Nile. Now the *behemoth* is described, Job xl. 21, 22, to *lie in the coverts of the reeds* and *fens*, and to *be compassed about by the willows of the brook*. The *river horse* feeds upon the herbage of the Nile; and the *behemoth* is said, ver. 15, *to eat grass like an ox*. No creature is known to have stronger limbs than the *river horse*; and the bones of the *behemoth*, ver. 18, are said to be *as strong pieces of brass; his bones are like bars of iron*. From all which characteristics, the *behemoth* and the *river horse* appear to be one and the same creature. And then again, as the *river horse* is properly an amphibious animal, living constantly in fens and rivers; and might likewise, as it was one of its largest and most remarkable creatures, be emblematical or significative of Egypt, to which the Psalmist might allude, Psal. lxviii. 30; the *river horse*, I say, may, with much greater propriety than the *lion* or *wild boar*, be received for the *beast of the reeds*, as חית קנה *chayath konah*, is better interpreted there, the *company of spearmen*, according to our translation. As for the *lion* and *wild boar*, one or other of which some have imagined to be this *hayath konah*, they may, with more propriety, be said to retire into, or to shelter themselves among, the tamarisks and the willows that attend watry places, than, out of choice or election, to live and make their constant abode therein. For the retiring, particularly of the *lion* out of these thickets, upon the swelling of Jordan, supposes it by no means to be amphibious, as the *river horse* certainly was.

The *camelopardalis** (K) or *jeraffa*, as it is called in Egypt and the Eastern countries, the *zomer* of the Holy Scriptures, is sufficiently identified by its spotted skin

* Strab. l. xvi. p. 533, ed. Casaub. Nabin Æthiopes vocant, collo similem equo, pedibus & cruribus bovi, camelo capite, albis maculis rutilum colorem distinguentibus; unde appellata *camelopardalis*. Plin. l. viii. c. 18. Figura ut camelus, maculis ut panthera. Var. ling. Lat.

Diversum confusa genus panthera camelo.

Polit. cap. iii. Miscell.

and long neck. A little calf, as if it were just dropt from it, is lying by it.

The *cercopithecus* (Z) a noted Egyptian deity is more than once expressed; as is also the *dog* (M) the *latrator Anubis*, according to its symbolical name: which, from the shape of it, as it is here expressed, should be that particular species, which is called the *canis Graius*, or *greyhound*. Now, as this quadruped is more remarkably contracted, or, according to the Scripture name, *girt in the loins*, Prov. xxx. 31, than most other animals; as it is likewise one of the swiftest; our interpreters seem to have judiciously joined it with the *lion* and the *goat*, among those three animals, ver. 29, that are said to *go well, and are comely in going*.

At a little distance from one of these greyhounds (M) we have a smaller quadruped (N) which a large gaping serpent is ready to devour. This from the size and shape, may be intended for the *ichneumon;* which, Diodorus Siculus tells us, was of the size of a *lap dog*.

The riding upon mules seems to have been of no less antiquity in Egypt, than in other Eastern countries;* as appears from one of them, with a rider upon it, under the walls of *Memphis* (Ω.) The rider perhaps was sent to apprize the capital of Alexander's invasion: as the person behind him on foot may denote the mule itself to have been hired; according to the like customary attendance of the owner, even to this day.

This pavement does not exhibit to us a great variety of *birds*. Among those that appear to be of the *web footed* kind, we may take the smaller species of them (Q) to be the *goose*, one of their sacred animals; as the larger may represent the *onocrotalus* (R) another noted bird of the Nile, otherwise called the *pelican*. The remarkable pouch, or bag, that is suspended from the bill and throat of this bird, serves not only as a repository for its food, but as a net likewise, wherewithal to catch it. And it

*2 Sam. xiii. 29. 1 Kings i. 33. Esth. viii. 10. Is. lxvi. 17.

may be further observed, that in feeding its young ones, whether this bag is loaded with water or more solid food, the *onocrotalus* squeezes the contents of it into their mouths, by strongly compressing it upon its breast with its bill: an action, which might well give occasion to the received tradition and report, that the *pelican*, in feeding her young, pierced her own breast, and nourished them with her blood. קאת *kaath*, which in Lev. xi. 18, Deut. xiv. 17, Psal. cii. 6, Is. xxxiv. 11, Zeph. ii. 14, is translated in the text,* or else in the margin, the *pelican*, can be no such bird; especially as it is there described to be a bird of the wilderness. For its large webbed feet, the capacious pouch, with the manner of catching its food, which can be only in the water, shows it entirely to be a *water fowl*, that must of necessity starve in the desert.

Among the birds of the *crane* kind (S) we may pronounce one or other of them to be the *ibis*, from the curvature of its bill: as among the others, we are to look for the *stork* and the *damoiselle*, the dancing bird, or *otis* of the ancients; which are every where to be met with.

Besides the *eagle* (T) which is displayed in a flying posture over one of the gates of Memphis; we should not overlook that beautiful bird, (u) adorned with a blueish plumage mixed with red. This sits perching under the same tree with the KHITIEN: and provided the artist, in the course of these drawings, had taken the liberty to indulge his invention, we might have imagined it to have been intended for the *phœnix*, a bird that we are so little acquainted with. Herodotus* acquaints us, that he saw one of them painted; which, though different from this, as being covered with red and yellow feathers, yet appears to be no other than the *manucodiata*, or *bird of paradise*; and therefore this and the *phœnix* were probably the same. However, if the bird here displayed cannot be admitted among the birds of paradise, we may suspect it at least to be the *peacock*, which was a native of Ethi-

* Herod. Eut. p. 131.

opia, and brought, with other animals and curiosities, from the south east parts of that country, to king Solomon, 2 Chron. ix. 21.

As, in the whole course of these figures, a particular regard seems to have been had to the sacred animals of Egypt, the *fish* (A) that is exhibited below one of the *pelicans* (R) may be received for the *lepidotus.**

There is room to conjecture, from a couple of *tortoises* (O) that are sunning themselves upon a bank of sand; and from the like number of *crabs* (P) that are swimming in the waters; that the inland parts of these countries were productive of both these animals.

Among the reptiles, we are entertained with some few species of the serpentine kind: though it is somewhat extraordinary, that none of them should have the marks and signatures of the *cerastes*, which was so well known in Egypt. The common snake, which may be exhibited among them, is called, by the inhabitants of these countries, *hannesh;* which, by an easy transition and change of letters, is of the same force and sound, with the Scripture נחש *nahhesh*. This, Gen. iii. 1, is said to be more subtle than all the other beasts of the field; a character, how applicable soever it may be to the whole genus; yet it appears, in this text, to be only attributed to one particular species. The common snake therefore, the same with the *natrix torquata* and the *anguis* of Esculapius, was the very species of the serpentine kind that beguiled our first parents.

Others of this family (W) are represented of an enormous size; being probably intended for that branch of it,

* Νομιζουσι δε και των ιχθυων τον καλκμενον Λεπιδωτον ιερον ειναι, και την εγχελυν. Herod. Eut. p 131. The following species of fish are ascribed to the Nile by Athenæus, Deipnos. l. vi. viz. Ναρκη, χοιρος, σιμος, Φαγρος οξυριγχος αλλαβης σιλκρος, συνοδοντις, ελεωτρις, εγχελυς, θρισσα, αβραμις, τυφλη, λεπιδωτος, φυσα, κεστρευς και αλλοι ουκ ολιγοι.

which are commonly called Δρακοντες by the Greeks, and תנינים *tanninim*,* by the sacred writers. The largest of these (X) has seized upon a bird; which from the contrast, appears to have fallen down directly into its mouth. If then, the common fame be true, that the *rattlesnake*,† and other serpents, have a power of charming birds and other animals, and bringing them down into their mouths; it may be presumed, that we have here an action of this kind, of great antiquity, and very pertinently recorded.

II. Among those animals, that are distinguished by their names, and are likewise well known, we may give the first place to the PINOKEPOC.‡ Now as this is the only

* There is no word in Scripture of a more undeterminate meaning than תנין, תנות תנים or תנים; being sometimes taken for great fishes, for serpents, and sometimes for howling animals or jackalls. Rabbi Tanchum, whose opinion is espoused by the great Dr. Pococke, Hos. i. 8, and by his learned successor Dr. Hunt, *Orat. Inaug.* lays down a general rule how to distinguish the several interpretations that are to be put upon the words; namely, that wheresoever תנים, תנין or תנות are plurals, they signify those howling wild beasts that inhabit desolate places; but that תנינים with תנים and תנין in the singular, may be rendered dragons, serpents, whales, or the like. And accordingly תנים Job xxx. 29, Psal. xliv. 19, Is. xiii. 22, xxxiv. 13, and xxxv. 7, and xliii. 20, Jer. ix. 11, and x. 22, and xlix. 33, and li. 37, Mic. i. 8, together with תנין Lam. iv. 3, and תנות Mal. i. 3. are to be taken for jackalls. But תנינים Gen. i. 21, Exod. vii. 12, Deut. xxxii. 33, Psal. lxxiv. 13, and cxlviii. 7, together with תנין Ex. vii. 9, 10, Job. vii. 12, Psal. xci. 13, Is. xxvii. 1, and li. 9, Jer. li. 34, and תנים Ezek. xxix. 3, and xxxii. 2, are to be rendered *dragons*, *serpents*, *whales*, *seamonsters*, or the like; according as they are spoken of such creatures, either as they relate to the land or to the water.

† "I am abundantly satisfied, says the following author, from many witnesses, both English and Indian, that a *rattlesnake* will charm squirrels and birds from a tree into its mouth." Vid. Paul Dudley, Esq. his *account of the rattlesnake*. Philos. Transact No. 376, p. 292. Dr. Mead *on poisons*, p. 82. Others imagine that the rattlesnake, by some artifice or other, had before bitten them; and as the poison did not immediately operate, the squirrel or bird, in the surprise, might betake themselves to some neighbouring tree, and afterward fall down, to be seized upon by the rattlesnake; which, sensible of the mortal wound that had been given, was impatiently waiting and looking for them.

‡ In Bartoli's drawings, the name is PINOKεΥCOC; which I presume must be a mistake. According to a late account I had of this pave-

animal we are acquainted with, which is usually armed with one horn* for what is commonly called the unicorn's horn is not the horn of a quadruped, but of the *nervahl*, a a cetaceous fish, our commentators have, for the most part, taken it for the ראם *reem*. And indeed in justification of this interpretation, the *rhinoceros*, from the very make and structure of its body, appears to be the strongest of quadrupeds, the *elephant* not excepted: so that in expressing the strength of Israel, Numb. xxiii. 22, it is justly compared to the strength of the *reem* or *rhinoceros*, or *unicorn*, as it is commonly translated. *Reem* then cannot be, as Schultens and others have interpreted it, the *oryx* or *bubalus*, or indeed any other species of the clean quadrupeds, which will by no means answer to this description of it.

We have nothing curious to offer with regard to the ΤΙΓΡΙC or the ΛΕΑΙΝΑ, with a cub sucking it: if we except the roundness of the spots in the former, which are unquestionably the distinguishing marks of the *panther*, and not of the *tiger*, as it is here called.

The ΑΙΝΞ is incorrectly given us for ΑΥΓΞ: the N in this name, and also in the CΦΙΝΓΙΑ, being put instead of

ment from my worthy friend Thomas Blackburne, Esq. jun. of Warrington, he acquaints me that it is ΡΙΝΟΚΕΡωC: as among the other names ΩΑΝΤΕC is ΘωΑΝΤΕC: ΕΝΗΤΑΡΙC is ΕΝΤΑΡΙC; and ΚΡΟΚΟΔΕΙΛΟC ΠΑΡΔΑΛΙC is ΚΡΟΚΟΔΙΛΟΠΑΡΔΑΛΙC. The ingenious Dr. Parsons, F. R. S. Philos. Trans. No. 470, has given us a most accurate figure, as well as a very curious dissertation, upon the rhinoceros.

* In Sir Hans Sloane's and Dr. Mead's curious collections, there are specimens of two of these horns being placed one above the other, at a span's distance; the one upon the snout, the other nearer the forehead; to a species of which kind the *geminum cornu* of Martial, Epig xxiv. De spectaculis, might probably relate. The Ethiopian rhinoceros, which Pausanias, in Bœoticis, calls the Ethiopian bull, was of this kind. Yet the rhinoceros upon the medals of Domitian, the same, we may suppose, that was exhibited at the secular games in his times, appears with one horn only upon the snout, as in those which have been brought to us hither, at different times, from the East Indies.

the Γ: which however may show how the Γ was pronounced before the letters Ξ and Γ. By the figure and attitude, it appears to be the same creature (L) which the Ethiopians are shooting at, in the upper part of the pavement. Now the *lynx* being generally received for the θως, or *lupus cervarius* of the ancients, it can bear no affinity at all with this creature; which is much better designed for the *wild ass*, or *onager*, one of the noted animals of these countries.

The CATOC, by the addition of a P, will be CATPOC, the *lizard*; the figure agreeing, with propriety enough, to the name. The ENHTΔPIC, in like manner is no other than ENTΔPIC, the H being redundant; and denotes the *lutra*, or *otter*, or as it is otherwise called, the *dog of the river*. They are two in number, holding each of them a fish in their mouths; agreeably to the character of that piscivorous animal. This was likewise one of those quadrupeds that were accounted sacred* by the Egyptians.

The XOIPOΠOTAMΘY by exchanging the Θ for an O will be χοιροποταμου, or the *river hog*. This is a new name indeed, though we can hardly be mistaken in the interpretation of it, as the animals here exhibited are exactly of that species. In Dr. Mead's curious collection of Bartoli's Drawings, we see the same group of animals, with the appellation of XOIPOΠIΘ-IΛ annexed to it: and as this word seems to be related to, or derivative from XOIPOC and ΠIΘH-KOC or ΠIΘHΞ, it should denote them to be *baboons*, *man-tigers*, or *orang-outangs*, or according to the literal interpretation, *hog-monkies*, or *hog-baboons*. But, besides the length and curled fashion of their tails, the very shape and attidude of the animals themselves, show them to be much nearer related, as it has been already observed, to the hog than the monkey kind; and therefore XOIPOTAMOY is rather to be received.

* Herod. Eut. p. 131.

The ΑΓΕΛΑΡΟΥ likewise from the similitude of the figure, should have been written ΑΙΛΟΥΡΟΥ *i.e.* the *cat*; which being one of the sacred animals of Egypt, could not well be denied a place in this collection.

III. Though the names of some other of these animals are as well known in books of natural history as those already mentioned, yet the animals themselves have not been so well described; they will require therefore some further illustration.

The ΚΡΟΚΟΔΕΙΛΟΣ ΠΑΡΔΑΛΙΣ then, or the *spotted lizard*, as it may be interpreted, might be intended for the *stellio* of the ancients; or the *warral*, according to the present name.

The ΚΡΟΚΟΔΕΙΛΟΣ ΧΕΡΣΑΙΟΣ, or *land crocodile*, so called in contradistinction, as it may be presumed, to the *river crocodile*, which was the ΚΡΟΚΟΔΕΙΛΟΣ, by way of eminence, is the same species of lizard with the ΣΚΙΓΚΟΣ.* However the head is not here well expressed; being too round and large; whereas that of the *skink's* is long, and rather more pointed, than in the other species of the lizard kind. Egypt has always abounded with the *skink*; and, to this day, several boxes of them, dried and prepared, are shipped off every year, for Venice, as an ingredient in their *theriaca*.

The ΟΝΟΚΕΝΤΑΥΡΑ is much better delineated than the κροκοδειλος χερσαιος; and may be called the *female ass centaure*. Ælian† is very copious in describing this imaginary creature; the only fictitious animal in this collection: which the LXX however have placed instead of תנים or the *wild beasts of the islands*, as we translate it, Is. xiii. 22, xxxiv. 14, &c.

The ΚΡΟΚΟΤΑΣ or *crocuta*, is a name as well known to the natural historians as the ΟΝΟΚΕΝΤΑΥΡΑ; though the animal itself has not been so well and so particularly described. Ælian, l. vii. c. 22, acquaints us, that it

* Dioscor. lib. ii. c. 71.

† Ælian Hist. anim. l. xvii. cap. 9, et l. vii. c. 22, Plin. l. viii. c. 21, and 30.

had the same art with the hyæna,* of learning the names of particular persons, and decoying them afterwards, by calling upon them by the same. But he gives us no characteristics, whereby the ΚΡΟΚΟΤΑC may be distinguished from other quadrupeds. We may supply the deficiency therefore from this figure, which is all over spotted. The head is rather long, like the bear's, than short and round, as in the cat kind. Agatharcides ascribes to it sharp claws and a fierce countenance.† The ears of it are small; the body is short and well set; and appears to have either no tail at all, or else a very short one. These then are to be received as the characteristics of the κροκοτας.

To this class we may join the CΦΙΝΓΙΑ, the same grammatical name with σφιγγες‡ These have been commonly numbered among the imaginary beings, but appear here to be *cercopitheci*, or *monkeys;* as indeed some ancient authors|| have described them. The prominence likewise, that is said to be in their breasts or nipples, may perhaps be authorised from the lowest of them, which has its limbs the most displayed; for those of the other are folded up and collected together, as the habit and custom is of that antic animal.

IV. Among such of these animals, whose names are either dubious or unknown, we may take notice of the ΑΠΡΟC; which, notwithstanding the affinity of it to the Latin word *aper*, yet has no relation at all to the *boar* kind. Excepting the spots, it agrees in shape, habit of body, and all other circumstances, with the ΚΡΟΚΟΤΑC:

* This property, Plin. Hist. nat. l. viii. cap. 30, is ascribed to the hyæna. Strab. l. xvi. p 553.

† Agath. de Mar. rubr. p. 45, ed. Oxon.

‡ Αι σφιγγες, τα σφιγγια. Salmas. Plin. Exercit. in Solinum.

|| Lyncas vulgo frequentes et *sphinges*, fusco pilo, mammis in pectore geminis Ethiopia generat. Plin. l. viii. c. 21. Inter simias habentur et *sphinges*, villosæ comis, mammis prominulis et profundis, dociles ad feritatis oblivionem. Solin cap. 27. Agatharcid. de Mare rubro, p. 43, ed. Ox. *Spinturnicia*, i. e. *sphinges*, omni deformitate ridicula. Amm. Marcell. lib. xxii.

If we might presume that ΑΡΚΤΟC was the true reading in the pavement, the figure will answer, with propriety enough, to the bear, one of the noted animals of this country.

The ΤΑΒΟΥC is another unknown name. The large quadruped, to which it belongs, has the exact shape and habit of the *camel*. The ears likewise are erect, with a large tuft of hair growing between them, as is common, though not peculiar indeed, to this creature. The large bump too, which is usually placed upon the middle of the back, is here fixed nearer the shoulders: Yet, notwithstanding this mistake, ΤΑΒΟΥC may still be a derivative from ΥΒΟC, the bump, or branch, one of the chief characteristics of the *camel*, and from whence it very properly received this name. The custom of carrying treasures upon these bunches of camels, is mentioned Is. xxx. 6.

Below the ΤΑΒΟΥC is the ΚΗΠΠΕΝ, which is a beautiful little creature, with a shaggy neck, like the καλλιθριξ ;* and shaped exactly like those monkeys, that are commonly called *marmosets*. The ΚΗΠΠΕΝ therefore may be the *Ethiopian monkey*, called, by the Hebrews קוף Holy *kouph*, by the Greeks, ΚΗΠΟΣ,† ΚΗΦΟΣ, or ΚΕΠΟΣ, from whence the Latin name *cephus*;‡ with this difference only, that ΚΗΠΠΕΝ has here an heteroclite termination. For little regard, as we may perceive from the preceding names, has been paid, either to the orthography, the number, or any other grammatical accuracies.

At a little distance from the ΚΗΠΠΕΝ is the ΞΙΟΙΤ: and near this again are the ΩΑΝΤΕC; appellations probably of Ethiopic extraction. With regard to the ΞΙΟΙΤ, it has all the appearance of a very fierce and rapacious animal. It seems to be howling, with the mouth half open. The

* Efferocior cynocephalis natura; sicut mitissima *satyris et sphingibus*. *Callitriches* toto pene aspectu differunt, barba est in facie, cauda late fusa priori parte. Plin. lib. viii. cap. 54.

† Strabo lib. xvii. p. 817. Edit. *Almelov.*

‡ Pompeius Magnus misit ex Ethiopia, quas vocant *cephos*; quarum pedes posteriores pedibus humanis & cruribus; priores manibus fuere similes. Plin. hist. Nat. l. viii. c. 19.

jaws are long, and well armed with teeth. There is no small probability, therefore, that it was intended for the *wolf*, and consequently will be the same, by softening the Ethiopic letter *by*, with *azybyte* or *'zijbt*, the Ethiopic name plural of the *lupus*, or *wolf*.

We find the like analogy betwixt ΩANTEC and the Ethiopic word *aankes* or *oanques*, as it may be differently pronounced. The ΩANTEC then were, the Ethiopian, *civet cats*,* as *aankes* is interpreted by Castel and Ludolfus. For greater differences than these are found in the derivatives of most languages. And, considering the nature and quality of the Greek and Ethiopic alphabets, and of their respective pronunciations; it cannot be expected, either that the same letters, or the same force or sound of any one given letter, word, or appellation, should be exactly conveyed from one of these languages into another.

So much then with regard to the *animals* of this pavement. If *botany* is regarded, we have here the figures of the *palm tree;* both of the common species (A) that grows up in one stem; and of the *doom* (B) or κυκιοφοϱον, that was forked. The stately uprightness of the palm is finely alluded to Jer. x. 5. We have the *musa* likewise (C) which is remarkably distinguished by large verdant leaves. The fruit of it is supposed, by some commentators, to be the *dudaim* or *mandrakes*, as others have taken the leaves for those, which our first parents used instead of aprons, or *girdles*, as it should be rather rendered, Gen. iii. 7.

The *lotus* (D) that extraordinary vegetable symbol in the Egyptian mythology, is still more frequent than the palm tree and the musa; and, as it is here represented, agrees in the rotundity of its leaf and rosaceous flower, with the *nymphæa aquatica*.

The large spreading tree (E) that presents itself so often to the eye, may be designed for the *sycamine* or

* *Felis Ethiopica*, s. animal *zibethicum*, s. *hyæna odorifera*. s. *civetta*.

sycamore, one of the common timber trees not only of Egypt, but also* of the Holy Land. The mummy chests, the sacred boxes, the παραδειγματα, the models of ships, and a variety of other curiosities, found in the catacombs, are all of them, as I have before observed, made out of this wood. And further, as the grain and texture of it are remarkably coarse and spongy, it could not therefore stand in the least competition, Is. ix. 10,† with the cedar, for beauty and ornament. The *sycamore* from budding very late in the spring, is called *arborum sapientissima:* and, from having a larger and more extensive root than most other trees, it is alluded to as the most difficult to be plucked up, Luke xvii. 6. The mulberry trees, that are said, Psalm lxxviii. 48, to have been destroyed by the frost, should be rather the *sycamore tree*, שקמותם as the word is.

Above the sycamores, within the precincts probably of Ethiopia, there is another large shady tree, (F) distinguished by two yellowish clusters, as they seem to be, of flowers; and by the KHΠEN, which is running upon one of the branches. This then may be the *cassia fistula*,‡ whose flowers are of this colour, grow in this fashion, and yield a most delightful fragrancy.

The CΦINΓIA display themselves upon another large tree, of a less shady quality, and with boughs more open and diffused. These circumstances agree very well with

* Συκομορον, ενιοι δε και τετο Συκαμινον λεγεσι, καλεια δε και ὁ απ' αυτης καρπος συκομορον, δια το ατονον της γευσεως. *Dioscor.* lib. i. cap. 182, or *sycamine* שקמים *sicamum.* Ps lxxviii. 47, 1 Kings x. 27, 1 Chron. xxvii. 28, Amos vii. 14, Luke xvii. 6, xix. 4.

† *The sycamores are cut down, but we will change them into cedars.*

‡ Cassia fistula ab *Arabibus* inventa, et a recentioribus Græcis, ut Actuario καρρια μελαινα nominatur. Fabam Indicam veterum, ut Aristobuli, Valerius Cordus credidit. Siliquam Egyptiam Theophrasti hist. 18. nonnulli censent. C. Bauh. Pin. p. 403. Being originally an Ethiopian plant, it might not have fallen under the cognisance of Theophrastus, as it was not known in Egypt at that time.

the *azedarach*, not much different from אזרח *ezrach*, or the *bay tree*, as we render it, Psal. xxxvii. 35, another noted tree of these countries; whose commoner name is *ailah* or *eleah*; the same with the Hebrew אלה, the oak, the elm, the lime, &c. as it is differently rendered, Josh. xxiv. 21, Is. vi. 13, Ez. vi. 13.

The banks of the Nile are every where adorned with several tufts and ranges of *reeds*, *flags*, and *bulrushes*. Among the reeds, the emblem of Egypt, 2 Kings xviii. 21, Ez. xxix. 26, we are to look for the *calamus scriptorius*, the קנה Is. xliii. 24, Jer. vi. 20, or *calamus aromaticus*, or *sweet calamus*, Ex. xxx. 23, and the *arundo saccharifera*. As most of these plants appear in spike or flower, they might thereby denote the latter end of the summer; the beginning of the autumnal season; or perhaps the particular time when Alexander made the conquest of Egypt. The clusters of *dates*, that hang down from one of the palm trees; the bunches likewise of *grapes*, that adorn the lower bower ζ, may equally typify the same season. Neither should we leave the *bower*, thus occasionally mentioned, till we have admired the variety of climbers, that shelter it from the sun. Such are the gourd, the *kikaion** or *kikoeon*, קיקיון as it bids the fairest to be, in the history of Jonas, the *balsamines*, the *climbing apocynums*, &c. all which I have seen flourishing in Egypt, at the time of the year, with great beauty.

* Some authors make the *kikaion* to be the same with the Egyptian *kik* or *kiki*, from whence was drawn the oil of *kiki*, mentioned by Diodorus, l. i. c. 33. This was the κρότων of the Greeks, the *elkaroa* of the Arabians; the same with the *ricinus* or *palma Christi*; which is a spongy quick growing tree, well known in these parts, vid. Ol. Clusii Hierobotanicon, p. 273, though the oil which is used at present, and perhaps has been from time immemorial, for lamps and such like purposes, is expressed from hemp or rape seed, whereof they have annual crops; whereas the *ricinus* is infinitely rarer, and the fruit of it consequently could not supply the demands of this country. The Egyptians are said to be the inventors of lamps, before which they used torches of pine wood. Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.

As to the *flags* and *bulrushes* they are often mentioned: particularly Exod. ii. 4, where we learn, that the mother of Moses, when she could no longer hide him, took for him an ark of bulrushes, or *papyrus*, as גמא is frequently rendered, and daubed it with slime and with pitch, and put the child therein, and laid it in the flags סוף *suph*, *juncus*, by the river's brink. The *vessels of bulrushes*, that are mentioned both in sacred and profane history,* were no other than larger fabrics of this kind: which, from the late introduction of plank, and stronger materials, are now laid aside.

The short, and it must be confessed, imperfect and conjectural account, that is here given, of this very instructive piece of antiquity, will, I hope, excite some curious person to treat and consider it with greater erudition, and more copious annotations. The subject very well deserves it; as all Egypt, and no small portion of Ethiopia, are here most beautifully depicted in miniature; and elegantly contracted into one view. And it will add very much to the credit and authority of the representations here given us, that notwithstanding the artist had so much room for indulging his fancy and imagination, yet unless it be the ONOKENTAYPA, we are entertained with no other object that appears to be trifling, extravagant, or improbable. Neither will there be much occasion to apologize, even for this figure: inasmuch as, several centuries after this pavement was finished, Ælian himself, lib. xvii. cap. 3, that great searcher into nature, seems to give way to the common fame, and to believe the existence of such a creature. See Shaw's Travels, p. 432—437, 4to edit. Lond. 1757.

* Is. xviii. 2, Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 22, takes notice of the *naves papyraceas, armamentaque Nili*; and, lib. xiii. cap. 11, he observes, ex ipsa quidem papyro navigia texunt. Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus have recorded the same. And among the poets, Lucan;

Conseritur *bibula* Memphitis cymba *papyro*.

OBSERVATION XXXII.

OF THE EXCELLENCE OF THE EGYPTIAN HORSES.

If oil was so welcome to Egypt, the Egyptian horses were equally acceptable to the Syrian princes, who had them brought out of that country, by the means of king Solomon, as we read 1 Kings x. 21, 29, and 2 Chron. i. 16, 17, at a considerable expense.

What was it that made them prize the Egyptian horses so highly, it is not a point easy to be determined. It cannot be imagined that they were animals peculiar to Egypt, or not known in that part of Asia, which made them so desirous to transplant such a useful exotic creature into their countries: for we read of great numbers of them in Syria before the time of Solomon.* They might be supposed however to be much stronger than the Syrian horses, and consequently much more useful in war; to which the Prophet Isaiah may possibly refer, when he tells the Israelites, that *the Egyptians were men, and not* God, *and their horses were flesh, and not spirit*, Is. xxxi. 3. For it is well known, that they are much larger than other Eastern horses, as well as more beautiful.† Or they might be chosen on the account of their stateliness, and their being more proper for the use of those who desired to appear in great pomp and dignity.

But however this was, it seems to have been a proof of the great respect that was paid to Solomon by the neighbouring princes, and among the rest by those of Egypt, which the Scripture speaks of, but which has not, that I know of, been remarked by commentators, as pointed out in these passages, though they are very clear

* See 1 Sam. xiii. 5, where we read of six thousand horsemen, and thirty thousand chariots, which were drawn, it will be allowed, by horses, and consequently sixtysix thousand horses were in this army. See also 2 Sam. x. 18.

† Shaw, p. 166, Maillet, Let. 9, p. 27.

proofs of it, if the present Egyptian usages are derived from remote antiquity in this point, as they are in most other things: for in Maillet's last letter but one, he gives a long account of the difficulty of conveying horses out of Egypt, which is so great, he says, that excepting those that are designed for Turks of high distinction at Constantinople, it cannot be overcome. Maillet himself, though consul general of France in Egypt, and though he had powerful connexions with the great men there, could never obtain this liberty; and he spends above two pages in proposing projects for doing that by subtilty, which he despaired of affecting by any other means. It is most probable the like difficulty subsisted in the time of Solomon, as the customs of Egypt are so very ancient, and consequently his bringing horses out of his country for himself, and for other princes, at his pleasure, ought to be looked upon as a proof of the respect with which he was treated; as the fondness of the present great men of the East for the horses of Egypt, may account for the desire the kings of the Hittites and of Syria had to obtain them.

OBSERVATION XXXIII.

OF THE PECULIAR EXCELLENCE OF THE EGYPTIAN FLAX.

As for the linen yarn, mentioned in the Scriptures,* it is still, according to Norden, one of the principal of their merchandises, and is sent away in prodigious quantities,† along with unmanufactured flax and cotton spun. To which I would add this remark of Sanutus,‡ who lived about four hundred years ago, that though Christian countries abounded in his time in flax, yet the goodness of the

* 1 Kings x. 28, 2 Chron. i. 16. † Vol. 1, p. 70.

‡ Gesta Dei, &c. tom. 2, p. 24.

Egyptian was such, that it was dispersed all about, even into the west; for the same reason, without doubt, the Jews, Hittites, and Syrians, anciently purchased the linen yarn of this country, though they had flax growing in their own.

OBSERVATION XXXIV.

OF THE FINE LINEN OF EGYPT.

Our version having more than once mentioned the *fine linen of Egypt*,* numbers of people have been ready to imagine their linen manufactures were of the most delicate kind, whereas in truth they were but coarse.

Maillet is willing to suppose, their present works are not equal to those of former times; "There is still,"† he observes, "a considerable quantity of cloth made there, and of all kinds of manufactures of silk and cotton, silk and gold, and even velvets. But I must acknowledge, very few that are perfectly beautiful; and that they are far short of the riches and perfection of those that were formerly brought from Egypt."

With respect, however, to their linen cloth, it incontestably appears, by examining that in which their embalmed bodies are found wrapped up, that their ancient linen fabrics were but coarse. Dr. Hadley found it to be so, upon inspecting a mummy in the year 1763.‡ In like manner, Hasselquist, speaking of this matter, says, "Their flax is soft and good, but not better than the European. They make to this day cloth of it in Egypt,

* Gen. xli. 42, Ezek. xxvii. 7. † Let. 13, p. 193.

‡ See the Philosophical Transactions for 1764. Those curious gentlemen, who were engaged in a very nice examination, tell us, they found the upper filleting of a degree of firmness hardly equal to what is sold at the shops for two shillings and four pence a yard, under the name of long lawn, woven something after the manner o Russia sheeting. The inner filleting was in general, they tell us, coarser, as well as more irregularly laid on.

which is coarse, and of little value, when compared to what is made in Europe; however, the Turks purchase it, as do the Europeans, on account of its cheapness. By what we can see by the linen wrapped round the mummies, the famous linen of the ancient Egyptians was no better than what is made at present in this country. But it was then the best, as Egypt alone possessed the art of cultivating and manufacturing flax. The Egyptian linen is not so thick as the European, being softer, and of a looser texture; for which reason it lasts longer, and does not wear out so soon as ours, &c."* He mentions the same subject again elsewhere, and confirms the preceding account: "All Egyptian linen is coarse, and much of the same fineness with ten or twelve penny Irish linen; but with this difference, that the Egyptian is thin, and the Irish close. . . . . The ancients talk much of the linen of Egypt, and many of our learned men imagine that it was so fine and precious, that we have even lost the art, and cannot make it so good. They have been induced to think so, by the commendations the Greeks have lavished on the Egyptian linen. They had good reason for doing it; for they had no flax themselves, and were unacquainted with the art of weaving: but were we to compare a piece of Holland linen, with the linen in which the mummies were laid, and which is of the oldest and best manufacture of Egypt, we should find that the fine linen of Egypt is very coarse in comparison of what is now made. The Egyptian linen was fine, and sought after by kings and princes, when Egypt was the only country that cultivated flax, and knew how to use it."†

Hasselquist had the greatest reason to suppose the linen in which the mummies were wrapped, was the finest at that time in Egypt; for those that were so embalmed, were persons of great distinction, and about whom they spared no expense.

* Page 244, 245. † Page 398, 399.

The celebrity then of the Egyptian linen was owing to the great imperfection of works of this kind in those early ages: no other in those times being equally good, for that linen cloth was made in ancient times in other countries, contrary to the opinion of Hasselquist, seems to be sufficiently evident, from the story of Rahab, Josh. ii. 6; and the eulogium of a notable Jewish matron, Prov. xxxi. 13, 24.

After all, there is no adjective in the original of the Old Testament answering the word *fine;* there is only a noun substantive שש *shesh,* which has been imagined to involve in it that idea.

But if it was so coarse, why is it represented as such a piece of magnificence, Ezek. xxvii. 7, for the ships of Tyre to have their sails of the linen of Egypt? Certainly because though coarse, in our eyes, it was thought to be very valuable, when used even for clothing; and if *matting* was then commonly used for sails,* sails of *linen* must have been thought extremely magnificent.

OBSERVATION XXXV.

OF THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF LINEN MANUFACTURED IN EGYPT.

As the linen of Egypt was anciently very much celebrated, so there is reason to think, there were various sorts of linen cloth in the days of antiquity: for, little copious as the Hebrew language is, there are no fewer than

* The sails in the Prænestine pavement seem to have been of *matting,* consequently the sails of that time in Egypt, famous for its pomp. Sails of matting are still used by the Arab vessels on the Red Sea, as we are assured by Niebuhr, in his description of that country, p. 188. It appears by Lord Anson's voyage, that the same usages obtains in some East India vessels, b. 3. ch. 5. Probably then it was the common practice in the first ages, which has not yet been deviated from in these countries.

Mat sails are in use to the present day among the Chinese. EDIT.

four different words, at least, which have been rendered linen, or fine linen, by our translators.* This would hardly have been, had they not had different kinds.

Our translators have been unfortunate in this article, I think, in supposing that one of the words might signify *silk*, and in forgetting cloth made of *cotton*.

When Joseph was arrayed in the land of Egypt, as viceroy of that country, they represent him as clothed with vestures of fine linen: Gen. xli. 42; but being dubious of the meaning of the word there, they render it *silk* in the margin. This was very unhappy: for they not only translate the word, שש *shesh*, linen, in a multitude of other places, but certainly, whatever the word signifies, it cannot mean silk, which was not used, we have reason to think, in those parts of the world, any more than in these more western countries, till long after the time of Joseph. They have gone further, for they make the word *silk*, the textual translation of the Hebrew term *shesh*, in Prov. xxxi. 22, which verse describes the happy effects of female Jewish industry; *She maketh herself coverings of tapestry, her clothing is pink and purple.*†

They suppose then, that the Jewish women of not the highest rank, in the time of Solomon, were clothed with vestments made of a material so precious in former times we are told, as to be sold for its weight in gold;‡ for which reason, it is said the emperor Aurelian refused his empress a garment of it, though she very importunately desired one. Aurelian a prince, who reigned over all Syria and Egypt, the countries we are speaking about, and the rest of the mighty Roman empire, and who lived

* These are בד *bad*, בוץ *buts*, פשת *pishet*, & שש *shesh*; and to these may be added שעטנז *shaatnez*, translated *linen* and *woollen*. אמן or אמון *emoon*, translated *fine linen*. Prov. xxxi. 24, and *sheets*, Jud. xiv. 12, 13. EDIT.

† Lemery, Dict. des Drogues, art. Bombyx.

‡ See Norden with respect to Egypt, vol. 1, p. 170; and le Bruyn as to Syria, tom. 2, p. 150.

almost one thousand three hundred years later than Solomon, and nearer these times in which silk is become so common. This seems very strange!

If they have introduced *silk* improperly, as hesitating sometimes about the meaning of a word rendered in common, *linen;* their omission of cloth made of cotton, which grows in great quantities in Egypt, and Syria now, and makes one considerable branch of their commerce.

It is very possible, however, that the growing of cotton in Syria is not of the highest antiquity. I am persuaded the פשתי *pishtee*, of Rahab, in particular, does not mean *cotton*, but *flax*, as our translators have rendered the word, Josh. ii. 6. It will be right for me to give my reasons. Rahab, the sacred historian tells us, hid the Israelitish spies under the stalks of the *pishta*, which she had laid in order on the roof of her house. This must have been in the month of March, or thereabouts, for the spies were sent out by Joshua, as the leader of Israel, and consequently after the death of Moses: Moses died, according to the Jewish account, in the beginning of their twelfth month, that is, some time in our February or March; and he certainly was alive the first day of the eleventh month, Deut. i. 3, in January. Agreeably to this we find, that, hiding themselves three days, the spies returned to Joshua on the other side Jordan; that in consequence of the report they made, Joshua removed from Shittim to Jordan; that after three days they passed over the Jordan, which was done on the tenth day of the first month. All these particulars appear in the beginning of the book of Joshua; the spies were hidden under the stalks of this vegetable then, about the beginning of the first sacred Jewish month, that is, some time in March, or on the first part of April. It could not therefore be *cotton*, for that is not sown till after the Jewish Passover, and is ripe in autumn: so Mr. Maundrell, who had been at Jerusalem to celebrate Easter in 1697, which festival every body knows is a little later than the Jew-

ish Passover, and fell that year on the fourth of April, found the country people every where at plough in the fields, at his return in the middle of April, in order to sow cotton;* and as cotton is sown about April, Dr. Russell says, that at Aleppo it is gathered in October;† and we know, from what has been remarked in the first chapter, that vegetables are in about the same forwardness at Aleppo as in Judea.‡ The pishta then of Rahab could not be cotton.

But it may without difficulty be believed to have been *flax*. I do not at present recollect any account, in the volumes of travels into the East that I have consulted, of the time in which they were wont to sow flax in Syria; but I remember to have seen an extract|| from a memoir relating to the cultivation of flax, said to be written by an understanding man, who had lived long in Holland, where it is a considerable branch of trade. In this curious memoir concerning flax, in which he tells us the soil must be fat and moist, he observes that the seed may be committed to the ground in March, if the season be favourable; that if sown thus early, it will be ripe at the end of June, or the beginning of July at furthest; that the flax being pulled, it is laid softly upon the ground in large handfulls, and several handfulls are put one over another, until the heap is a foot and a half high, if the weather is uncertain; if dry, it is laid thinner; that if the season is favourable, twelve or fourteen days are sufficient to make it perfectly dry; if wet, they are sometimes obliged to leave it in little heaps eighteen or twenty days. From this account it appears, that it is sown about the

* Page 100. † Vol. i, p. 78.

‡ Dr. Pococke's account is not very different: he says, it is sown the beginning of May, and is not ripe till September. He adds, that they turn up the ground so lightly, that he saw the stalks of the last year's cotton remaining: consequently the stalks of this vegetable cannot be supposed to have been brought home to Rahab's house.

|| In the Appendix to the 10th vol. of the Monthly Review.

same time with barley here in the West, and that it is ripe about a month or six weeks sooner than that grain: now barley begins to ripen in those Eastern countries about the time of the Passover,* or soon after, and consequently flax there, might very well be laid a drying when the spies came to Jericho. In Holland they dry the flax stalks in the field; but in the East they use the roofs of their houses for curing their figs and raisins,† for drying the blossoms of the safflower, used in dying, &c.‡ and therefore Rahab may very well be supposed to dry her flax there, especially in a time of apprehension from the approach of enemies, as that undoubtedly was, Josh. ii. 11. Wherever then we meet with the word *pishta*, we may conclude, I believe, that *flax* is what is meant.

If cotton was not originally a production of Syria,‖ any more than silk, yet it has been planted there, we may believe, many ages; and before they began to cultivate it, they might be, and doubtless were, acquainted with manufactures of cotton, brought from places further to the East. Calicoes and muslins are still brought from thence to Syria;§ and as, according to the very ingenious editor of the Ruins of Palmyra, the East India trade was as ancient at least as the days of Solomon,¶ and Palmyra built on account of that commerce; some of those fine cotton manufactures were probably brought by the caravans then, and are what is meant by the Hebrew word בוץ *butz*. There are but *seven* places, I think, in which the word butz occurs in the Old Testament.** The *first* men-

* Hasselquist, however, I have since observed, says, it flowers in winter, p. 245.

† Shaw, p. 211. ‡ Hasselquist, p. 253.

‖ Silk as well as cotton is produced now in large quantities in Syria, and makes a very principal part of the riches of that country. Voyage de Syrie. par de la Roque, p. 8.

§ Rauwolff, p. 84. They are brought, in like manner, from the East Indies to Egypt. Norden vol. 1, p. 70. Maillet, Lett. 13. p. 194, 195.

¶ Page 18.

** It occurs in *eight* places, viz. Esth. i. 6. viii. 15. 1 Chron. iv. 21. xv. 27. 2 Chron. ii. 13. iii. 14. v. 12. Ezek. xxvii. 16. EDIT.

tion that is made of it is David's wearing a robe of butz, when he removed the ark from the house of Obed-edom to Zion, 1 Chron. xv. 27,* two other places refer to the ornaments of Solomon's temple, a fourth to the dress of the Levites, a fifth describes it as one of the merchandises Syria carried to Tyre, and the other two relate to the court of Ahasuerus, king of Persia. How natural to understand all these places of East Indian manufactures, muslins, or fine calicoes!

Solomon's making the dress of the Levites the same with what his father David wore on a high solemnity, and with what was worn by the greatest men in the most superb courts of the East, agrees with the other accounts that are given of him, particularly his making silver in Jerusalem as stones, and cedars as those trees that in the vale are remarkable for abundance, 1 Kings x. 27.

I leave it to the virtuosi to determine what the other two words mean. Perhaps we shall not be very far distant from their future decisions, if we should suppose, that the word *ww shesh*, means linen cloth, bleached to a whiteness resembling marble, since the word sometimes signifies marble; and that בד *bad* is a generic term, which signifies *vegetable* clothing of all kinds, in opposition to that made of materials taken from animals, sheep, goats, or other living creatures. None of the words, I presume, mean *hempen* cloth: that, I should imagine, was as little known to the ancient Jewish writers, as the nettle cloth of Leipsic, or that made from hopbinds in Sweden are to us.

As for the word סדין *sadin*, which they have twice translated *fine linen*, Prov. xxxi. 24. and Is. iii. 23, it evidently signifies a particular vestment; and another word which they have also translated fine linen, in Prov. vii. 16, is believed to signify a *cord* or *thread*, which, joined with the preceding word, should seem to mean beautifully

* This is the *second* time it is mentioned; see above. From the בוץ *buts* of the Hebrews, probably came the βυσσος of the Greeks, and the *byssus* of the Latins. EDIT.

stitched: *With ornaments have I ornamented my bed, with works beautified with the thread of Egypt.* Words which, possibly, may be illustrated by the account d'Arvieux gives us of the coverlets the Arab princes make use of for their beds. "They have," he says, "coverlets of all sorts: some are very beautiful, stitched with gold and silk, with flowers of gold and silver," &c.*

I would only add, in order to illustrate what may be supposed to be the meaning of the words שש *shesh* and בד *bad*, that the clothing of the common people of Egypt is linen only, but dyed blue with indigo, according to Hasselquist.† Such kind of linen may well be thought to be distinguished upon some occasions, from that whitened like Holland; some of the Egyptian linen also, if I remember right, is striped blue and white: such differences might make a generic word very requisite.

OBSERVATION XXXVI.

METHOD OF STAINING AND ORNAMENTING THE NAILS.

THERE is a passage in Deuteronomy xxi. 12, about the sense of which our translators appear to have been extremely uncertain: translating one clause of the 12th verse, *and pare her nails*, in the text; and the margin giving the clause a quite opposite sense, "suffer to grow." So that, according to them, the words signify, that the captived woman should be obliged, in the case referred to by Moses, to *pare her nails*, or, to *suffer them to grow*, but they could not tell which of these two contradictory things the Jewish legislator required; the Jewish doctors are, in like manner, divided in their opinion on this subject.‡

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 177. † Page 244, 245.

‡ Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

To me it seems very plain, that it was not a management of affliction and mourning that was enjoined : such an interpretation agrees not with the putting off the raiment of her captivity; but then I very much question whether the paring her nails takes in the whole of the intention of Moses.

The precept of the law was, that she should *make her nails:* so the Hebrew words literally signify. Making her nails, signifies making her nails neat, beautifying them, making* them pleasing to the sight, or something of that sort : *dressing* them is the word our translators have chosen, according to the margin. The 2 Sam. xix. 24, which the critics have cited on this occasion, plainly proves this : *Mephibosheth, the son of Saul, came down to meet the king, and had neither made his feet, nor made his beard, nor washed his clothes, from the day the king departed, until the day he came again in peace.* It is the same word with that in the text, and our translators have rendered it in one clause dressed, in the margin of Deut. xxi, *dressed his feet;* and in the other trimmed, *nor trimmed his beard.* Making the feet seems here to mean washing the feet, paring their nails,† perhaps anointing, or otherwise perfuming them, as he was a prince, see Luke vii. 46. As making his beard may mean combing, curling, perfuming it ; every thing in a word, that those that were people of distinction, and in a state of joy, were wont to do.

Making her nails, undoubtedly means paring them; but it must mean too every thing else relating to them, that was wont to be done for the beautifying them, and rendering them beautiful. We have scarcely any notion

* The clause in the Hebrew is ועשתה את צפרניה *veasetah et tsippareneeah* and doubtless refers to staining them with the *hennah,* mentioned afterward. EDIT.

† Sir J. Chardin, in his MS. note on this place, tells us, that it is customary in the East to have as much care of the feet as of the hands; and that their barbers cut and adjust the nails with a proper instrument, because they often go barefoot.

of any thing else but paring them; but the modern Eastern women have; they stain them with the leaves of an odoriferous plant, which they call Al-henna, of a red, or as others express it, a tawny saffron colour. But it may be thought, that is only a modern mode of adorning their nails: Hasselquist, however, assures us, it was an ancient Oriental practice. "The Al-henna," he tells us, "grows in India, and in Upper and Lower Egypt, flowering from May to August. The leaves are pulverised, and made into a paste with water: they bind this paste on the nails of their hands and feet, and keep it on all night. This gives them a deep yellow, which is greatly admired by the Eastern nations. The colour lasts for three or four weeks, before there is occasion to renew it. The custom is so ancient in Egypt, that I have seen the nails of mummies dyed in this manner. The powder is exported in large quantities yearly, and may be reckoned a valuable commodity."* It appears by this to be a very ancient practice; and since mummies were before the time of Moses,† this custom of dying the nails might be as ancient too; though we do not suppose the mummies Hasselquist saw, with their nails thus coloured, were so old as his time.‡

If it was practised in Egypt before the law was given, we may believe the Israelites adopted it, since it appears to be a most universal custom now in the Eastern countries: Dr. Shaw observing that all the African ladies that can purchase it, make use of it, reckoning it a great beauty;|| as we learn from Rauwolff, it appears also to the Asiatic females.§ I cannot but think it most probable

* Page 246. † Gen. l, 2, 26.

‡ The nails of the toes of the mummy inspected at London, in 1763, of which an account is published in the Philosophical Transactions for the year 1764, seem to have been tinged after the same manner; for those curious gentlemen observed that some of them retained a reddish hue, as if they had been painted.

|| Page 104. § Page 54.

then, that making the nails, signifies *tinging* as well as paring them. *Paring* alone, one would imagine, too trifling a circumstance to be intended here. No commentator, however, that I know of has taken any notice of ornamenting the nails by colouring them.

As for shaving the head, which is joined with making the nails, it was a rite of cleansing, as appears from Lev. xiv. 8, 9, and Num. vi. 9, and used by those who, after having been in an afflicted and squalid state, appeared before persons to whom they desired to render themselves acceptable, and who were also wont to change their raiment on the same occasion, see Gen. xli. 14, but this is not the point I am considering under this Observation.

OBSERVATION XXXVII.

STRONG ATTACHMENT OF THE EGYPTIANS TO THEIR OWN LAND.

The *plenty* and *various comforts* of the land of Egypt attach its inhabitants so to it, that, according to Maillet, there is no getting any of them out of their native country.

This, he thinks, sufficiently appeared in the year one thousand six hundred and ninetynine, when he received an order from the court of France, to send three Copti children thither, to be brought up in that country, as some of other Eastern nations were. He used all his efforts, and all the stratagems the Roman Catholic missionaries could contrive; but in vain. His attempts, on the contrary, well nigh produced a commotion. The endeavours of the Italian Fathers of the congregation de propaganda fide, to send five or six to Rome, in obedience to the orders of that congregation, were, he observes, as unsuccessful. This he ascribes to several reasons, but above

all, to one peculiar to themselves, the infinite attachment they have to their own country.*

But though there is no such thing as getting the Egyptians out of their own country now, numbers of them anciently, we find, lived as servants in other lands. Hagar was an Egyptian, Gen. xvi. 1; Jarha, who belonged to Sheshan, was an Egyptian, 1 Chron. ii. 34; that servant to an Amalekite, that conducted David and his troops to the company that had destroyed Ziklag, was an Egyptian, 1 Sam. xxx. 11. I believe it will not be easy to pick out, from the Old Testament accounts, an equal number of servants of *other* countries that lived in foreign lands, mentioned there.

How different the views that Maillet and the Old Testament give us of the state of the Egyptians, as to residence in their native country! What is the difference owing to, a less strong attachment to their own country anciently, or the fate of war? To the last, no doubt of it: for the country was then extremely fruitful, as it is now;† possessed the same delightful water of the Nile, the same exquisite pleasantness, and the same peculiarities of pleasure it may be that it has done since; but wars, without question, led many of its inhabitants into this state of servitude.

OBSERVATION XXXVIII.

STATE OF THE DESERT, WHEN ISRAEL PASSED THROUGH IT.

An ancient Jewish Prophet gives, according to our version, the following description of that wilderness, whose northern part lies between Egypt and Judea, through a considerable part of which peninsula Israel had to pass in the days of Moses: *A land of deserts, and of pits; a land of drought, and of the shadow of death;*

* Lett. xi. p. 136. † Gen. xii. 10.

*a land that no man passed through, and where no man dwelt.** The old Greek translation, called the Septuagint, renders it a little differently; according to which translation it is described as a land immense in its extent, or, perhaps, untried,† though I should rather understand the term in the first sense, as the idea expressed by *untried* does not much differ from the last clauses of the description; difficult for people to make their way through;‡ a land without water, and without fruits: a land which no man passed through, and where no man dwelt.‖

The description that Mr. Irwin has given of that part of this wilderness which lies on the western side of the Red Sea, through the northern part of which too Israel actually passed, very much corresponds with this description, and may serve to illustrate it; the wilderness on the eastern side of that sea, without doubt, originally resembling that through which Irwin passed, though the passing of the Mohammedan caravans to Mecca, every year, for many ages past, may have occasioned several alterations to have been made, to facilitate the passing of those devotees, who are many times people of high quality, through the more northern and eastern part of that terrible wilderness: we may believe, I say, that it was anciently,

* Jer. ii. 6, "Neither said they, where is the LORD that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, that led us through the wilderness, through a land of deserts," &c.*

* As the Hebrew words are often referred to in this and the following Observation, I think it necessary to set them down here, with the interlineary version of Montanus:

mortis umbræ & ariditatis terram per vastam & desertam terram per
וצלמות ציה בארץ ושוחה ערבה בארץ
ibi homo habitavit neque vir ea in transiit non terram per
אדם שם: ישב ולא איש בה עבר לא בארץ

† Απειρος is the word made use of. ‡ Εν γη αβατω.

‖ The word απειρος, used by the Septuagint, refers simply to the lack of *roads* or *paths* in this desert: it was *unpierced*, i. e. *untracked*, as *no man had* hitherto *passed through it* in the direction in which Israel went. EDIT.

in the parts through which Israel passed, as horrid as that on the western side is now.

The scarcity of water is the first thing I would take notice of. When it is described as a land without water, we are not to suppose it is absolutely without springs, but only that water is very scarce there. Irwin accordingly found it so. On the first day after his setting out, having only travelled five miles, they filled thirty water skins from the river Nile, but which he thought might prove little enough for their wants, before they reached the next watering place, p. 293. They travelled, according to their computation, fiftyfour miles further, before they found, three days after, a spring, at which they could procure a fresh supply, p. 300; and this was a new discovery to their guides, and for which they were indebted to a very particular accident, p. 298. It was not until the following day, that they arrived at the valley where their guides expected to water their camels, and where acordingly they replenished the few skins that were then empty: the spring was seventynine miles from the place from whence they set out, p. 305. The next spring of water which they met with was, according to their reckoning, one hundred and seventyfour miles distant from the last, and not met with till the seventh day after, and was therefore viewed with extreme pleasure: "At nine o'clock we came suddenly upon a well, which is situated among some broken ground. The sight of a spring of water was inexpressibly agreeable to our eyes, which had so long been strangers to so refreshing an object." P. 321. The next day they found another, which "gushed from a rock, and threw itself with some violence into a basin, which it had hollowed for itself below. We had no occasion for a fresh supply; but could not help lingering a few minutes to admire a sight, so pretty in itself, and so bewitching to our eyes, which had of late been strangers to bubbling founts and limpid streams." P. 324, 325.

A wilderness, in which they found only four springs of water in the space of three hundred and fifteen miles,* might well be stiled ανυδρος, or without water, in a popular way of speaking, though not absolutely exact. It appears from the Scriptures, as well as from late travellers, that there were, in like manner, some wells and natural springs of water in that part of the desert, which lay on the eastern side of the Red Sea,† where Israel much longer sojourned, but they were not many, and the places of watering at a considerable distance from each other.‡

I ought here to mention, the smallness of the quantity of water one of these four springs afforded, which Irwin met with in the desert, or at least the difficulty of watering their beasts at it. "We lost," says this writer, "the greatest part of the day at this spring. Though our skins were presently filled, the camels were yet to drink. . . . As the camels could not go to the well, a hole was sunk in the earth below the surface of the spring, over which a skin was spread, to retain the water which flowed into it. At this but two camels could drink at a time; and it was six hours before our camels, which amounted to fortyeight in all, were watered. Each camel, therefore, by this calculation, takes a quarter of an hour to quench his enormous thirst; and to water a common caravan of four hundred camels, at such a place as this, would require two days and two nights. A most unforeseen and inconceivable delay to an uninformed traveller!"

What would the mighty numbers of Israel have done at such a spring, with their flocks and their herds, when Moses was conducting them out of Egypt! The wilderness of Arabia then has but few places of water, and some of them not convenient for watering a number of people and beasts, if we may judge of it from that on the western side.

But not only is the quantity of water produced by a spring to be considered, but its quality also. Irwin does

* See p. 330. † Exod. xv. 27. ‡ Exod. xv. 22, ch. xvii. 1.

not complain of the water which he found here and there in this part of the desert, but of the only two springs which he found in the more southern part of the desert, in passing from the Red Sea westward to the river Nile, one of which was brackish, p. 162, and the other he seems to have thought unwholesome, complaining that his European companions, as well as himself, found their bowels greatly affected, which he attributed to the water they had gotten the day before, p. 168. This second spring of water was thirtyseven miles from the first, p. 164 and 165, which was only five miles from Cosire, the place from which they set out, and used, in common, by the inhabitants of that town, p. 162. These two were the only springs that they found in travelling one hundred and fifteen miles, from the Red Sea to the Nile, p. 174. "The Arabs," he says, "have found springs in particular spots, but the deer, of whom he found many in his journies through these deserts, must necessarily live many days without water in the depth of this desert; except that, like the rein deer, who digs with certainty for provender beneath the snow, they supply themselves with water from a similar practice," p. 165.

If we are to give this part of the Prophet's description of that wilderness a popular explanation, and not take it in the most rigorous sense; we ought undoubtedly to put the same kind of construction on the two last clauses of it. *A land that no man passed through, and where no man dwelt:* a land, that is, not usually passed, and where hardly any man dwelt.

So Irwin describes* the desert of Thebais, as "unknown even to the inhabitants of the country; and which, except in the instances† I have recited, has not been traversed for this century past by any but the outcasts of

* Page 276.

† Which were only two companies of people, who were afraid to venture down the Nile, on account of disturbances on that river from civil war.

human kind." Such a wilderness might very well be said not to be passed through, when only two or three companies travelled in it in the compass of a hundred years, and that on the account of extreme danger, at that particular time, attending the common route. He atcually calls it, p. 317, *a road seldom or never trodden.*

It is reasonable to believe, that great part of the wilderness, through which Israel passed, was as little frequented in the days of Moses.

As to its being inhabited, Irwin travelled, by his estimation, above 300 miles in this desert, from Ghinnah to the towns on the Nile,* without meeting with a single town, village or house. They were even extremely alarmed at seeing the fresh tracts of a camel's feet, which make as strong impression on a soft soil, and which the Arabs with them thought were not more than a day old; and they could not comprehend what business could bring any but Arab freebooters into that waste.†

A passage, in p. 328 of his account, is hardly to be admitted an exception to this, where, describing his ascending an eminence near the Nile, a few miles above Cairo, to survey that river, he says, "About a mile from this charming retreat, buried in the desert from common observation, the robbers‡ have their residence. They attended us thus far, and then returned to their tents, which they had pointed out to us on the road, as the dwellings of their families." Anciently, as well as now, there might be a few roving Arabs in that desert, but uncultivated, and without fixed dwellings in it, it might be said to be uninhabited.

When the Prophet describes this wilderness, according to our version, as *the land of the shadow of death,* his meaning has been differently understood by different

* Page 327. † Page 320.

‡ Wild Arabs, whom they met with in the deserts, and who, on account of their conductor, treated them as friends, and even escorted them part of their journey.

people. Some have supposed it to mean a place where there were no comforts or conveniencies of life ;* but this seems too general, and to explain it as a particular and distinct member of the description, pointing out some quality different from the other circumstamces mentioned by Jeremiah, seems to be a more just, as it is undoubtedly a more lively way of interpreting the Prophet. Others have accordingly understood this clause as signifying, it was the habitation of venomous serpents, or destroying beasts; some as endangering those that passed through it, as being surrounded by the hostile tribes of Arabs; some as being overshadowed by trees of a deleterious quality.† They might better have introduced the whirlwinds of those southern deserts than the last particular, which winds, taking up the sand in great quantities, darken the air, and prove fatal to the traveller. This last would be giving great beauty and energy to the expression, the shadow of death, since these clouds of dust, literally speaking, overshadow those that have the misfortune to be then passing through those deserts, and must at the same time give men the utmost terror of being overwhelmed by them, and not unfrequently do in fact prove deadly.‡ So, great terror is expressed by the same term, Job xxix. 17; as is the darkness of the Eastern prison, more destructive than those of the west, though by no means producing effects equally fatal with the hurricane in their wildernesses. Ps. cvii. 10, 14. This explanation, however, of Jeremiah's description, I have no where met with; nor do I consider it as the true one.

I should suppose they are in the right, who apprehend that the Prophet, by this expression, means its abounding with venomous serpents and scorpions, since it is thus that Moses describes the same country, with those writ-

* See Mr. Lowth's commentary. † Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

‡ They might even better have mentioned the hanging pieces of granite, which being torn from the mountain, seem ready to bury the traveller under the enormous masses, which Irwin mentions, p. 310.

ings, and consequently with this description, a Jewish Prophet must be supposed to have been well acquainted: Deut. viii. 15, *Who led thee through that great and terrible wilderness, wherein were fiery serpents and scorpions, and drought, where there was no water; who brought thee forth water out of the rock of flint.*

This comment from Moses, I think, must appear to be unexceptionable: I cannot confirm it, however, by the testimony of this traveller, who passed from pretty far south, to near the northern boundary of the western part of the desert. He even supposes such creatures are not to be found, at least in that part of this desert, through which he passed in the close of the summer* of the year 1777. "As we came up to the place, we disturbed a poor deer, that had sheltered itself here from the sun. These animals abound in this desert; and as we have not met with, or even heard of, any wild beast, or venomous creatures in our peregrinations, I conclude Egypt to be free from them, notwithstanding the fables of antiquity." P. 294. Again, p. 319, "We sheltered ourselves behind a thick spreading bush to sleep, as the North wind blew peculiarly cold. Here my servant discovered a snake under his bed which the Arabs tell us is poisonous. But it had no tokens of being so, if I may be allowed to judge from the variety of snakes I have seen in India."

But surely the Arabs must have been as competent judges of the poisonous quality of this animal. If Irwin happened on no venomous creature there, they may, notwithstanding, be to be found in that desert; and if not now, Moses might describe that wilderness as a place where they were to be found, since Israel had been actually wounded by such, and died in considerable numbers†.

A curious reader may perhaps be surprised at being told, that the Septuagint translates this clause by the single word Ακαρπος, as if all the danger of death there arose from the sterility of that country, and its producing

* In September. † Numb. xxi 6.

few or none of the supports of life. Theodotion alone, if the collections of Lambert Bos are complete, translates the words a *land of the shadow of death;* the rest taking upon them to explain that figurative expression, and joining in supposing, it only signifies *unfruitful.* Was the desert of Thebais known by these Egyptian translators and transcribers to be without venomous inhabitants? and did they suppose the Arabian part of the desert was equally free from these poisonous animals?

But if Irwin's account is not very favourable to what I take to be the true explanation of the expression, a land of the shadow of death; he abundantly confirms the English version of another clause, *a land of pits,* which is also a part of the Prophet's description.

Many seem to have doubted of this being the meaning of the Prophet. The Septuagint appears to have supposed his intention was, in that second clause, to express its being unfrequented, untrodden, for they either used the word Αβατος or Απειρος; the vulgar Latin, of the edition of Sixtus Vth, translates it after the same manner, *per terram inhabitabilem et inviam,* which translations coincide with the latter clauses of this description, and consequently extremely injure its beauty.

Irwin, on the contrary, affords a good comment on this part of our translation. In one place he says, "The path winded round the side of the mountain, and to our left, a horrid chasm, some hundred fathoms deep, presented itself to our view. It is surprising no accident befel the loaded camels." Page 296. In another,* "On each side of us were perpendicular steeps some hundred fathoms deep. . . . On every part is such a wild confusion of hanging precipices, disjointed rocks, and hideous chasms, that we might well cry out with the poet, 'Chaos is come again.' . . . Omnipotent Father! to thee we trust for our deliverance from the perils that surround us. *It was through this wilderness thou didst lead thy chosen*

* Page 310.

people. It was here thou didst manifest thy signal protection, in snatching them from the jaws of destruction which opened upon every side." And in the next page, "At two o'clock we came suddenly upon a dreadful chasm in the road, which appears to have been the effect of an earthquake. It is about three hundred yards long, one hundred yards wide, and as many deep; and what is the curiosity, in the middle of the gulf, a single column of stone raises its head to the surface of the earth. The rudeness of the work, and the astonishing length of the stone, announces it to be a *lusus naturæ*, though the robbers* declared to us, that beneath the column there lies a prodigious sum of money; and added, with a grave face, they have a tradition, that none but a Christian's hand can remove the stone to come at it. . . . We rounded the gulf, which was called Somah and leaving it behind us, we entered a valley where we found a very craggy road."

With what energy does the Prophet describe this place as the land of pits! Indeed, after reading the preceding extracts, it is difficult to read the learned Buxtorf's explanation of this clause of Jeremiah without a smile. He allows the original word signifies a pit, or chasm; and then, after citing this passage of Jeremiah, he adds, that is so desolate, that it is more proper to furnish a sepulchre to a man, than an habitation to live in.† How happy when the observations of a traveller are united with the disquisitions of the philologist!

I have put off the examination of the first clause in this passage, *through a land of deserts*, to the last, as appearing the most obscure and difficult to ascertain, and as the interpretation I would propose is so different from, and indeed opposite to, what is commonly supposed to be the meaning of it.

* People whom they accidentally joined in the wilderness, and with whom they travelled in safety. See a preceding note.

† Epit. Rad. Heb. p. 882.

The vulgar Latin renders it by very different words as does our English translation. Both, when they would affix a distinct meaning to it, make use of terms that signify an open and considerably flat country: the plains of Moab is a phrase that frequently occurs, to use a particular instance in our version, and *Campestria Moab* appears, in like manner, in the Vulgate. In the Latin translation of Pagnin, reviewed by Montanus, with an express design of making use of words as exactly corresponding to the Hebrew terms as possible, we shall find the word *campester*, in its several inflections, continually used. The reverse is, I should apprehend a more true translation, and instead of an open, even, or champaign country, we are rather to understand the word as signifying here a district in which steep hills, frightful rocks, and difficult vallies, form a scene of dangerous variety.

The word ערבה *arabah*, in the original seems to involve in it the idea of *changeableness* and *variety;* but variety may be of an alarming and dangerous kind, as well as of a pleasing nature, and such seems to be the meaning of it here. Certainly the other parts of the description express what was dangerous and horrid; this word then must do the same, and consequently if it implies a varied country, it must mean of mountains with dangerous precipices, horrid rocks, and vallies difficult to pass, not a district of delightful varied scenes; and such, in fact, seems to be the nature of this desert.

It was Irwin's description, of a part of this wilderness, which first led me to this interpretation of the word here. I will set down some passages of his journal that relate to this subject.

Instead of travelling in the night, as he had proposed, to avoid the burning heat of the sun, he says, p. 294, "At seven o'clock we halted for the night. The Arabs tell us, that the roads are too rugged and dangerous to travel over in the dark." Under the next day, "We reached the foot of a prodigious high mountain, which we cannot

ascend in the dark." The following day he tells us, p. 295, 296, "By six o'clock we had accoutred our camels, and leading them in our hands, began to ascend the mountain on foot. As we mounted the steep, we frequently blessed ourselves that we were not riding, as the path was so narrow, the least false step must have sent the beast down the bordering precipice." Under another day he remarks, that the greatest part of that day's journey was "over a succession of hills and dales, where the road was so intricate and broken, that nothing but a camel could get over it. The appearance of the road is so frightful in many places, that we do not wonder, why our people have hitherto laid by in the night." P. 305.

In the whole of Irwin's journey, in this Egyptian desert, he was led to make observations of a similar kind, but it must be quite unnecessary to multiply quotations, descriptive of the nature of this country with respect to variety, which here I suppose signifies ruggedness.

OBSERVATION XXXIX.

PRESENT STATE OF THE SAME DESERT.

As the desert through which Irwin passed is not so a land of drought as to have *no* springs of water, though they are very few in number, so it is not absolutely without rain.

For he tells us, p. 301, "As we overlooked the precipices beside us, I discovered several channels apparently worn with water, and am convinced in my own mind, from these and other signs, that either the Nile formerly branched into this desert, or rivers ran here whose springs are now choaked up:

"Dumb are their channels, and their fountains dry."

But I should be inclined to suppose they were rather the tracts of winter torrents, than marks that branches of

the Nile formerly flowed there, or that fountains ran in those places.

Maillet supposes indeed that very little rain falls at Cairo, and less above it, which is truth in the flat country; but it may be otherwise among the lofty hills of the desert through which Irwin passed. Maillet himself allows that the clouds are stopped by these mountains which come from the eastward, and that such a stopping is the cause of rain in the Red Sea, which frequently happens.* But, surely! some may fall among the mountains of this desert, as well as on the outside of this range of hills.

But if it should not be so in this particular desert, certainly very cold rains descend in some of the hilly parts of these southeastern countries.† Those words of Job then may be a very just description:‡ *The poor of the earth hide themselves together. Behold, as wild asses in the desert, go they forth to their work, rising betimes for a prey; the wilderness yieldeth food for them, and for their children. They cause the naked to lodge without clothing, that they have no covering in the cold. They are wet with the showers of the mountains, and embrace the rock for want of a shelter.*

Irwin found the *cold* of that desert he passed through very severe at times; had he passed it three or four months later, he might possibly have been incommoded with *wet* too.

OBSERVATION XL.

FURTHER ACCOUNT OF THE STATE OF THIS DESERT.

Irwin further describes the mountains of the desert of Thebaïs, as sometimes so steep and dangerous, as to

* Lett. i. p. 16, 17.

† Albertus Aquensis gives an account of severe cold rain and snow in the mountains near Edom, and the land of Uz. Gesta Dei, p. 307.

‡ Ch. xxiv. 4—8.

induce even very bold and hardy travellers to avoid them, by taking a large circuit; and that, for want of proper knowledge of the way, such a wrong path may be taken, as may on a sudden bring them into the greatest dangers; while, at other times, a dreary waste may extend itself so prodigiously, as to make it difficult, without assistance, to find the way to a proper outlet. All which show us the meaning of those words of the songs of Moses, Deut. xxxii. 10. *He led him about, he instructed him, he kept him as the apple of his eye.*

Jehovah certainly instructed Israel in religion, by delivering to him his law in this wilderness; but it is not, I presume, of this kind of teaching Moses speaks, as Bishop Patrick supposes, but God's instructing Israel how to avoid the dangers of the journey, by leading the people about this and that dangerous precipitous hill, directing them to proper passes through the mountains, and guiding them through the intricacies of that difficult journey, which might, and probably would, have confounded the most consummate Arab guides. They that could have safely enough conducted a small caravan of travellers through this desert, might have been very unequal to the task of directing such an enormous multitude, encumbered with cattle, women, children, and utensils.

The passages of Irwin, that establish the observation I have been making, follow here. "At half past eleven we resumed our march, and soon came to the foot of a prodigious hill, which we unexpectedly found we were to ascend. It was perpendicular, like the one we had passed some hours before; but what rendered the access more difficult, the path which we were to tread, was nearly right up and down. The captain of the robbers,* seeing the obstacles we had to overcome, wisely sent all his camels round the mountain, where he knew there was a defile, and only accompanied us with the beast he rode.

* The plundering Arabs who were so friendly to them.

We luckily met with no accident in climbing this height," p. 325. They afterward descended, he tells us, into a valley, by a passage easy enough, and stopping to dine at half past five o'clock, they were joined by the Arabs, who had made an astonishing march to overtake them, p. 326.

"We soon quitted the dale, and ascended the high ground by the side of a mountain, that overlooks it in this part. The path was narrow and perpendicular, and much resembled a ladder. To make it worse, we preceded the robbers; and an ignorant guide among our people led us astray. Here we found ourselves in a pretty situation! We had kept the lower road on the side of the hill, instead of that toward the summit, until we could proceed no further. We were now obliged to gain the heights, in order to recover the road; in performing which, we drove our poor camels up such steps, as we had the greatest difficulty to climb after them. We were under the necessity of leaving them to themselves; as the danger of leading them through places, where the least false step would have precipitated both man and beast to the unfathomable abyss below, was too critical to hazard. We hit at length upon the proper path, and were glad to find ourselves in the rear of our unerring guides, the robbers, after having won every foot of the ground with real peril and fatigue." P. 324.

Again. "Our road, after leaving the valley, lay over level ground. As it would be next to an impossibility to find the way over these stony flats, where the heavy foot of a camel leaves no impression, the different bands of robbers have heaped up stones, at unequal distances, for their direction through this desert. We have derived great assistance from the robbers in this respect, who are our guides when the marks either fail, or are unintelligible to us."

These predatory Arabs were more successful guides to Mr. Irwin and his companions, than those he brought

with him from Ghinnah; but the march of Israel, through deserts of the like nature, was through such an extent and variety of country, and in such circumstances, as to multitude and incumbrances, as to make a divine interposition necessary. The openings through the rocks seem to have been prepared by him, to whom all things from the beginning of the world were foreknown, with great wisdom and goodness, to enable them to accomplish this stupendous march.

OBSERVATION XLI.

CONCERNING THE FISH IN THE RED SEA, AND THE GREAT DEXTERITY OF THE ARABS IN FISHING.

When Moses mentioned Israel's being fed with fish, collected from the Red Sea, he seems to have supposed something of an extraordinary kind; but analogous to what had happened to several people, in small companies, not any thing miraculous.

The passage is this: *You have wept in the ears of the* Lord, *saying, Who shall give us flesh to eat? for it was well with us in Egypt: therefore the* Lord *will give you flesh, and ye shall eat, even a whole month. And Moses said, The people amongst whom I am, are six hundred thousand footmen; and thou hast said, I will give them flesh, that they may eat a whole month. Shall the flocks and the herds be slain for them, to suffice them? or shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together for them* (or rather to them) *to suffice them?* Numb. xi. 18, &c. It further appears, from that passage at length, that they were to eat of it a whole month, not sparingly, but plentifully.

In answer to the divine declaration, Moses proposed a difficulty in accomplishing this promise, in the natural course of things; not as imagining it could not be done by

a miracle; he could not but know, that he that rained down manna, could, by a miracle, gorge them with flesh; but in the common course of things, or in the natural, though more unusual operation of Providence, could it be brought about? That was what puzzled Moses.

Some flocks, and a few oxen, they had with them for the solemnities of sacrifice; but could a part of them, with any addition that might be procured from the people on the skirts of the desert, be sufficient to support them a whole month? Fish might be obtained from the Red Sea, from which, it seems, they were not very distant, but could it be expected they would come in such numbers to the shore, within their reach, as fully to satisfy the cravings of their appetites, day after day, for a whole month?

The ground of this inquiry, with respect to the flesh of quadrupeds, is visible to all: they had frequently tasted of their flesh in feasts, generally of a sacred nature, sometimes, perhaps, of a less devout kind. But how came Moses to think of *fish?*

Irwin explains it, by observing, that a little lower down, toward the straits of Babelmandel, he found fish in abundance in the Red Sea; that the Arabs were very expert in catching them; and that great quantities were to be picked up, from time to time, on the sand banks, which are extremely numerous in the Red Sea.

There is no reason to believe, that Israel had not tasted fish in some of their encampments, of which some are expressly said to have been near the Red Sea, Numb. xxxiii. 10, 11; and others are known to have been on that coast, or not far from it, where no mention is made of that circumstance in the sacred writings. And there can be no reason to doubt, that since many of them found fish so grateful to their palates, but that they would endeavour to make use of that opportunity for gratifying themselves. Manna was an additional supply, only intended to make up a sufficiency of food; not designed to be exclusive of

every other species of it. If the modern Arabs are so dexterous at catching fish now, the ancient Egyptians, we have reason to believe, were so in their time; and the low and oppressed state of Israel in that country, will not allow us to believe, that they did not exert themselves with equal assiduity, and, in consequence of continual use, with equal success. *We remember the fish we did eat in Egypt freely*, was a part of their moan, Num. xi. 5.

After these observations, I will no longer delay giving my reader the pleasure of those extracts from Mr. Irwin, that relate to this matter. I will set the passages down as they arise.

Page 82. "We caught some beautiful rockfish in the evening, with our hooks. They were well tasted, and encouraged us to hope for such refreshments at other places on the coast." The next day, but in the same page, "We amused ourselves, during the morning, in catching fish, which readily take the bait here." Two days after he says, "The reef at low water is every where dry, and we then pick up plenty of fish among the crevices of the rocks. While we have this supply, we shall not be at a loss for provisions." Page 85. "These fellows' dexterity in fishing," speaking of the Arab sailors, "cannot be sufficiently admired; and wherever we are, we may depend upon our master for a dish of excellent fish. At low water the reef appears some feet above the level of the sea, and our table was not unprovided with its usual service. This circumstance is very favourable to this coasting voyage; as, whatever other hardships they may endure, the want of provision is not felt by the mariners." Page 99, 100. Nor are those the only places in which he mentions the abundance of fish in the sea.*

Now though these fish were found at a considerable distance from the station of the Israelites, yet as the Red Sea, in general, is said to abound in fish, and the same

* Page 47, 90.

rocks and sand banks appear more or less every where there, I can make no doubt that Israel had before this got, by their art in fishing, and from the banks of sand and holes in the rocks at low water, considerable quantities, though by no means such quantities as were sufficient, without other food, or even to satisfy them upon the foot of eating a delicacy. Moses, however, with much less knowledge than he really possessed, for he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians,* might have known that fish migrate, and are often found, at particular times, in very great quantities, where at other times few or none are seen. This is not only known in the North, and among us of this country, as to herrings, but the vulgar of the Egyptians too, as we are assured by Monsieur Maillet, who mentions some circumstances that are not a little strange. "What is surprising," says this writer, speaking of the astonishing quantity of fish in the Nile, and its dependencies, "is, that there are hardly any of the sorts found there which are taken in the rivers of Europe, excepting the *eel*. It is, however, true, that in December, January, and February, they catch very good *herring* here. What will surprise you is, that this kind of fish is only found in the neighbourhood of Cairo; that none are taken at Rosetta, and very few at Damietta, past which cities however they must go in ascending to the first mentioned place. This odd appearance of nature deserves attention."†

If Moses knew what the common people of Egypt now know, and which their sages in ancient days must, at least, have remarked, he could be no stranger to that change of place that may be observed as to fish, and their crowding together at certain times; and to some such a natural, but surprising and unknown occurrence, as to the inhabitants of this sea, the words of Moses seem to point: *Shall the flocks and herds be slain for them? . . . or shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together,*

* Acts viii. 22. † Lett. 9, p. 25.

by some natural impulse, to this place, for a month or more, which none of us have had any notion of, nor received any information about, to *suffice them* ? Such is, I apprehend, the spirit of these words.

OBSERVATION XLII.

DANGEROUS NAVIGATION OF THE RED SEA.

Irwin complains heavily of the slowness of the navigation of the Red Sea, owing to the number of rocks on that coast, the numerous banks of sand, and the unfavourableness of the wind, to those that want to go up toward the north end of this sea, or gulf:* upon which he remarks, that by their mode of coasting alone, he could easily conceive Ulysses to have been ten years rounding the shores of Greece ; without the intervention of an enmity, but what the mariner may expect from the winds and waves.†

Surely the observation might be better applied to the time consumed by Solomon's navy, in fetching gold from Ophir, though he had the assistance of Hiram's subjects, and that the Tyrians were the most skilful navigators of the world in those times. Solomon's navy sailed precisely in the same sea with Irwin, and were gone but three years.‡ The adventures of Ulysses took up ten years, on a less dangerous coast.

They often dared not to sail on the Red Sea by night, and there are particular places, he tells us, on that coast, which vessels are obliged to reach during the day, or else they must, at times, run back to the birth which they left, for want of anchoring ground.||

* The southerly winds prevail only in December, January, and February ; and at the changes of the moon, they are sometimes felt for a day or two in the other months, p. 140.

† Voy. up the Red Sea, p. 84. ‡ 1 Kings x. 22, 2 Chron. ix. 21.

|| Page 71.

In a light open boat, they took up very near a month in ascending from Yambo to Cape Mahomet, which, according to Niebuhr's chart of the Red Sea, is not quite one fourth of the way from Suez to the strait of Babelmandel. What time must a large ship, laden with riches, that required the most cautious management, have anciently taken up, in returning from Ophir! to which must be added the expense of time in going down the Red Sea, which, though less, was not inconsiderable.*

Rocks have been, anciently and of late, made use of as places of refuge on the land by the people of the East; but they are not, perhaps, looked in that light at sea. It seems, however, that it is customary there to fasten their vessels to some of the rocks, that are spread like a net all over the Arabian coast.† For want of anchoring ground, we are informed, they fasten to such rocks there as are proper for their purpose: "As the boat approaches the reef, one of the crew jumps from the forecastle, with a hook in each hand, and diving under the reef, fastens the hooks to the rocks, which are rendered porous by the water. The boat rides here in smooth water, with her sides almost touching the rocks."‡ And sometimes when the wind blew very strong, their Arabs made their boat fast with another rope, by a turn round a pointed rock.‖

* Even our own ships meet sometimes with great delays. In p. 106, 107, he tells us, the great Judda annual ship sails in the proper month, and in "following the track which we have gone, as near as possible, she is generally fifty days, or two months, on her voyage to Suez; and as it has happened this year, from some accident or other, she sometimes gets no further than Tor. To fail in the performance of so short a voyage, in the most favourable season of the year, would be an inexplicable circumstance to a mariner unacquainted with the navigation of this extraordinary coast. To us who are no strangers to the course, the wonder is how a vessel of her great burthen, and unwieldy structure, can accomplish the passage at all."

† Page 89. ‡ Page 71. ‖ Page 85.

OBSERVATION XLIII.

OF THE SOWING, WATERING, REAPING, AND THRESHING OF RICE, IN EGYPT.

As in different parts of the Holy Scriptures there are frequent allusions to the *sowing of rice, watering the grounds, threshing*, or what the Prophet Isaiah, xxviii. 28, terms, *breaking it with the wheel of the cart:* or, *bringing the wheel over it*, Prov. xx. 26, it may not be improper to conclude this chapter with a short account of the sowing, cultivation, threshing, and preservation of rice, taken from the travels of Mr. Sonnini, a writer worthy of the utmost credit in every thing that concerns the Natural History and Antiquities of Egypt.

"Rice is sown in Lower Egypt from the month of March to that of May.* During the inundation of the Nile, the fields are covered by its waters; and in order to detain them there as long as possible, small dikes, or a sort of raised embankments, are thrown up, round each field, to prevent them from running off. Trenches serve to convey thither a fresh supply; for, in order to make the plant thrive, its roots must be constantly watered.

The ground is so moistened, that in some places a person sinks in half way up to his chin. Rice is nearly six months before it comes to maturity; and it is generally cut down by the middle of November. In Egypt the use of the *flail* is unknown. To separate the grain from the straw, the inhabitants prepare, with a mixture of earth and pigeon's dung, spacious floors, well beat, and very clean. The rice is spread thereon in thick layers. They then have a sort of cart, formed of two pieces of wood joined together by two cross pieces: it is almost in the shape of sledges which serve for the conveyance of

* Sonnini's Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt, p. 145.

burthens in the streets of our cities. Between the longer sides of this sledge are fixed transversely three rows of small wheels, made of solid iron, and narrowed off toward their circumference. On the fore part, a very high and very wide seat is clumsily constructed. A man sitting there drives two oxen, which are harnessed to the machine, and the whole moves on slowly, and always in a circular direction, over every part of the heap of rice, until there remains no more grain in the straw. When it is thus beat, it is spread in the air to be dried. In order to turn it over, several men walk abreast, and each of them, with his foot, makes a furrow in the layer of grain, so that in a few moments the whole mass is moved, and that part which was underneath is again exposed to the air.

The dried rice is carried to the mill, where it is stripped of its chaff or husk. This mill consists of a wheel turned by oxen, and which sets several levers in motion: at their extremity is an iron cylinder, near a foot long, and hollowed out underneath. They beat in troughs which contain the grain. At the side of each trough there constantly stands a man, whose business is to place the rice under the cylinders. He must not suffer his attention to be diverted; for he would run a risk of having his hand crushed. After this operation, the rice is taken out of the mill, and sifted in the open air; which is done by filling a small sieve with as much grain as a man can lift; this he raises above his head, and gently spills the rice, turning his face to the wind, which blows away the small chaff or dust. This cleaned rice is put a second time in the mill, in order to bleach it. It is afterward mixed up in troughs with some salt, which contributes very much to its whiteness, and principally to its preservation; it has then undergone its whole preparatory process, and in this state it is sold.*

* See an account of the methods of cultivating rice in different parts of Madras, vol. ii. Observation xxxvi. p. 38, to which this should have been annexed, but it was overlooked at the time. EDIT.

CHAP. XI.

MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS.

OBSERVATION I.

MANNER OF PRESENTING OFFERINGS TO GOD AT JERUSALEM.

When the Prophet describes the Israelites as being carried to Jerusalem, by the Gentile nations, as an offering was carried thither in a clean vessel:* some have understood it to mean with songs:† and others understand it of pomp and joy in general: though there may be cleanliness without either songs or magnificence. Commentators too suppose, that the vessel in which an oblation was wont to be carried, was well cleansed before it was applied to that use.‡ But all this put together, express imperfectly, I apprehend, the thought of the Prophet.

1. Very *different things* were sent as sacred presents to the house of God: we have an instance of this in the history of King Saul: *Then shalt thou go on forward from thence, and thou shalt come to the plain of Tabor, and there shall meet thee three men going up to* God *to Bethel, one carrying three kids, and another carrying three loaves of bread, and another carrying a bottle of wine,* 1 Sam. x. 3. The word מנחה *minchah,* used in the original, and translated here *offering*, and which seems commonly to be used for offerings of the bread kind, might be applied to all these things: for, as in secular

* Isaiah lxvi. 20. † The Septuagint. ‡ Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

matters, it stands for presents of any kind, cattle, Gen. xxxii. 13, &c. balm, honey, spices, myrrh, pistachio nuts, and almonds, Gen. xliii. 11: so it expresses live offerings to GOD, as well as inanimate oblations, as is evident from a passage in Malachi, ch. i. 13, 14, *Ye brought that which was torn, and the lame and the sick; thus ye brought an offering* מנחה *minchah: Should I accept this of your hands? saith the* LORD. *But cursed be the deceiver, which hath in his flock a male, and voweth and sacrificeth unto the* LORD *a corrupt thing.*

2. It is believed that such things were carried to the house of GOD with great pomp, and therefore undoubtedly in very clean vessels,* if any of them were of such a nature as to make such an assistance necessary, or agreeable. The passage of Isaiah, I just now quoted, shows, that when they went to the house of GOD, on more solemn occasions, it was with the pomp of music playing before them. *Ye shall have a song, as in the night when a holy solemnity is kept, and gladness of heart, as when one goeth with a pipe to come into the mountain of the* LORD, *to the Mighty one of Israel.*

When the first fruits were carried to the Sanctuary, according to the Jewish writers, an ox went before them with gilded horns, and an olive crown upon his head,† and the pipe played before them, until they approached near to Jerusalem. When they came to Jerusalem, they crowned their first fruits, that is, they exposed them to sight in as much glory as they could, Lightfoot says, and the chief officers of the Temple went out to meet them.‡

* So the word טהור *tachor*, in this passage translated *clean*, signifies magnificence, or glory, in Ps. lxxxix. 44, and is accordingly so translated in our version of that passage.

† The heathens adorned their sacrifices in something of the same manner, according to Acts xiv. 13.

‡ Lightfoot, vol. 2, p. 307.

It is natural to suppose something of this pomp attended their voluntary oblations ;* certainly cleanliness, essential to Levitical pomp, though the lowest part of it.

And I suppose the baskets, or their vessels, in which loaves of bread, cakes, and other things were carried, were not merely carefully *cleaned*, but that they were generally, if not always, *new*. This would appear most respectful, and be thought most effectual for guarding against impurity and defilement. The Eastern people seem to have made newness an important quality, where they would express respect, as well as where purity is particularly required.

I have frequently remarked this, in the accounts given by travellers, of the people of the East.† Most probably then the Jewish people carried their sacred presents in new vessels: however, freedom from pollution was the main thing about which they were concerned.

3. The application of blood to such vessels must have been esteemed, in particular, very polluting : *Do ye abide without the camp*, said Moses to Israel, *seven days : whosoever hath killed any person, and whosoever hath touched any slain, purify both yourselves and your captives, on the third day, and on the seventh day. And purify all your raiment.*‡

But in such long journies as are supposed in this passage, when Israel should be brought from among the nations to their own land, they might be obliged to shed blood in their own defence. This is supposed in that passage of the book of Ezra, in which Ezra saith, speaking of his taking much such a journey as Isaiah refers to, coming up from Babylon to Jerusalem, in consequence of a Persian prince's favouring the return of the Jews, of those times,

* The cattle might be adorned with garlands, if their horns were not gilded.

† They generally have new clothes for the celebration of their religious festivals.

‡ Numb. xxxi. 19, 20.

into the country of their forefathers, *I was ashamed to require of the king a band of soldiers and horsemen, to help us against the enemy in the way: because we had spoken unto the king, saying, the hand of our* God *is upon all them for good, that seek him, but his power and his wrath is against all them that forsake him.* Ezra viii. 22.

The carrying then of Israel to the land of their forefathers, as oblations were wont to be carried to the temple in a clean, in an unpolluted vessel, seems to intimate, that they should meet with no enemies to oppose their passage thither, and occasion the shedding of blood. That seems to be the principal thought; though, very probably, the ideas of magnificence and joy might be united with that of peace.

The Mohammedan pilgrims to Mecca have, in our times, soldiers to guard them in their journey, and are themselves commonly armed; yet notwithstanding, are sometimes set upon, pillaged, and abused, according to Niebuhr, on the account of misunderstandings with the Bedouin Arabs.* He mentions several late instances, but says nothing, in that passage, of the Arabs slaughtering, lately, many of the pilgrims, as well as their military protectors, which yet it seems was the fact. But no bloodshed, according to the Prophet, was to attend the bringing Israel back to the holy city: neither of those returning Jews, nor of their conductors, nor of any enemies that should oppose their passage. They were to be presented an unpolluted offering to God.

That the Mecca pilgrims were not many years since slaughtered in considerable numbers as well as robbed, appears from the Memoirs of the Baron de Tott:† "Constantinople, at the same time, received intelligence, that the admiral's ship, while the officers and the greater part of the men were on shore, had been seized on, and carried

* Niebuhr, Descript. de l'Arabie, p. 330. 331. † Vol. 1, part 1, p. 127.

into Malta, by the slaves who were on board; and that the caravan, notwithstanding it was escorted by the Pasha, with soldiers and artillery, had been attacked and cut in pieces by the Arabs of the desert. By these two catastrophes, the superstition and vanity of the nation were hurt at the same time." They were on the way from Mecca to Damascus, and it was said, in the papers of that time, that the pilgrims were 50 or 60,000 in number. Their perishing in such numbers, in so sacred a journey, must certainly have hurt their superstition; and their vanity, as affected by the despised and injured Arabs.

A violent commotion, the Baron tells us, was apprehended, but prevented by the artful management of the vizier, and "as to the unhappy pilgrims of the caravan, they were looked upon as so many martyrs."* It is evident then from this writer, who lived long in Turkey, that they were not only plundered, but very many of them slaughtered. The time when Constantinople was thus filled with lamentation, and apprehensions of a commotion, from these events, was the beginning of the reign of Sultan Mustapha III. who succeeded his brother Osman in the beginning of October, 1757.

OBSERVATION II.

RAIN SOMETIMES FALLS IN THE DESERT BETWEEN THE NILE AND THE RED SEA.

I HAVE taken notice of the traces of rain found in the desert between the Nile and the Red Sea; and I would here remark, that rain sometimes is found to fall in that part of the desert which lies on the Eastern side of the Red Sea, where Israel wandered so many years, which circumstance is referred to in the Scripture, and therefore

* Page 130.

claims some attention among the other observations contained in these papers.

Pitts, in his return to Egypt from Mecca, which he visited on a religious account, found rain in this desert. His words are as follow:* "We travelled through a certain valley, which is called by the name of *Attash el Wait*, i.e. the River of the Fire, the vale being so excessively hot, that the very water in their goat skins has sometimes been dried up with the gloomy, scorching heat. But we had the happiness to pass through it when it rained, so that the fervent heat was much allayed thereby; which the hagges† looked on as a great blessing, and did not a little praise GOD for it."

This naturally reminds us of a passage in the 68th Psalm, ver. 9. *Thou, O* GOD, *didst send a plentiful rain, whereby thou didst confirm thine inheritance when it was weary*, speaking of GOD's going before his people when they came out of Egypt, and entered upon their sojourning in this wilderness.

The Mohammedan pilgrims that were with Pitts, do not seem to have wanted water to drink, but the fall of rain, it seems, was highly acceptable to them, on account of cooling the air in a place where, from its situation, it was frequently wont to be extremely hot.

One of the first things that occurs to a reflecting mind, upon reading this passage of the Psalmist, is, an inquiry whether this rain was miraculous, or a common exertion of the power of the GOD of nature, though under the direction of a gracious providence. It seems now, from this account of Mr. Pitts, to have been the last, and not contrary to the common course of things in that wilderness.

The time of year when Pitts passed through this desert is not exactly known. In his youth he was taken by the Algerines, and his having, in consequence, forgotten our way of computing time, must be admitted as a just apology

* Page 159. † Pilgrims.

for his omitting dates. It is however certain that it was in the latter end of the year, probably some time in December.*

No mention is made of this merciful shower in the books of Moses, so far as I remember; but as we are told in the Psalm, immediately after, of the fleeing of kings, if the circumstances referred to here are ranged in exact order, it must have been before the Amalekites set upon Israel in Rephidim; but there can be no dependence upon that, especially as mention is made of Sinai in a preceding verse, and in the outset of the description of GOD's marching before his people through the wilderness.

OBSERVATION III.

CURIOUS ILLUSTRATION OF AMOS ii. 8, CONCERNING THE CLOTHES LAID TO PLEDGE BY EVERY ALTAR.

IT was soon found to be advantageous, in point of ease and healthfulness both, to have a carpet, or some soft and rather thick cloth, spread upon the ground on which persons sat who dwelt in tents, which we find in after times were made use of too by the inhabitants of houses.

How soon this began to be practised it is impossible to say, but it is proved to have been in use, even in their temples, as early at least as the days of Amos, as appears by a passage in that Prophet: *They lay themselves down*

* It appears by circumstances, he was at Mecca in the year 1685, or 1686, and consequently it will be found by calculation, and an attention to various circumstances, that he arrived at Grand Cairo, along with the caravan of pilgrims, in their return, about the close of the year, according to our reckoning. In their month of Ramadan he found a very considerable shower of rain fell at Mecca, which must therefore probably have been some time in *August*; which earliness of the rain, in that country, and its quantity, deserves a good deal of notice. His account of this rain is in p. 83, and 127.

*upon clothes laid to pledge, by every altar.** I would make some remarks on this passage.

It appears, in the first place, that when they held their idolatrous feasts, in the temples dedicated to the gods worshipped by the heathens of those countries, they sat upon the ground. Next, that they sat not on the bare earth, or marble pavement of those temples, they had something soft and dry, perhaps warm, spread under them. Thirdly, that these things were not part of the furniture of such places, they were brought occasionally by the worshippers themselves, for they were things taken for a pledge by these worshippers that the Prophet speaks of. Further, when they are called clothes, I would observe, it is by no means necessary to suppose the word meant dresses worn in the day, or designed for that purpose; it appears, from 1 Kings i. 1, that the word בגדים *begadeem*, may mean the coverings of the body for the night, as well as those for the day.† Lastly, that the coverings of their beds were either carpets, or what might with sufficient commodiousness be used as such.

"When it was dark," says Dr. Chandler,‡ three coverlets, richly embroidered, were taken from a press in the room which we occupied, and delivered, one to each of us; the carpet or sofa, and a cushion, serving, with this addition, instead of a bed."

After this confirmation of the last particular, I would go on, and next observe, that such carpets, or embroidered coverlets, would be neither an improper pledge for money, borrowed, or disgrace the pomp of an heathen temple.||

* Amos ii. 8.

† "Now king David was old, and stricken in years; and they covered him with *clothes*, but he gat no heat." So, in our language, we talk of *bed clothes*, as well as clothes worn in the day time.

‡ Travels in Asia Minor, toward the beginning.

|| That their bed coverings were wont to be pledged, not unfrequently, in those early times, appears from Exod. xxii. 26, 27, "If thou at all take thy neighbour's raiment to pledge, thou shalt deliver it unto him by that the sun goweth down. For that is his covering only, it is his raiment for his skin; wherein shall he sleep?"

So then it is sufficiently plain, that in the days of Amos, carpets were made use of; that they sat upon them when laid on the ground, and that when they feasted in the most magnificent and solemn manner. It does not however follow, that this mode of sitting at taking their repasts, has prevailed among the Eastern Jews from the age in which we live, without variation, up to the time of the Prophet Amos, and from thence to the remotest generations. As the names of places were many of them changed according to an observation of Maundrell,* from Ammianus Marcellinus, when the Greeks and Romans were concerned in Syria, but never took with the natives, the places resuming their first Oriental names, which continue to this day; so it might very possibly be as to some customs: thus at the time of our LORD, they sat not with their legs crossed under them as now, at the sacred Paschal feast which he celebrated with his disciples, but reclined after the Roman manner, and consequently, in all probability, on carpets laid upon low couches.

With Roman customs fixed in their minds, our translators also use the term *lay down* here, "they lay themselves down on clothes laid to pledge," which the Hebrew word שׁכב *yattoo* does not determinately signify. The same objection, I doubt, may be made to the word *stretch*, which has been used in a late version; for which the world is indebted to the learned Bishop of Waterford. *Stretching themselves* leads us, I should think, to the Roman attitude in their sacred feasts; but *placing* themselves on those carpets, in the manner used at that time, in that country, when people partook of an idolatrous feast, is indisputably what is, in the general, meant. As to the precise attitude, the word signifies the *spreading out a tent*, Genesis xxxiii. 19, which much better answers a man's being placed in the present Eastern way, than the lying along according to the Roman mode, which would be much more exactly resembled by a tent just taken

* Page 54.

down, and laid along upon the ground, previous to its removal, than the setting one up.

Before this passage is totally dismissed, it may not be amiss just to consider, why the circumstance of being *clothes that were taken to pledge* is mentioned here. Attending an idolatrous feast must have been undoubtedly wrong in these Israelites; but of what consequence was it to remark, that some of them seated themselves on carpets that had been put into their hands by way of pledge? It may be answered: that it might be galling to those that had been obliged to pledge these valuable pieces of furniture secretly, to have them thus publicly exposed; that it may insinuate that these idolatrous zealots detained them, when they ought to have been restored;* and that they subjected them to be injured, in the tumult of an extravagant and riotous banquet in an heathen temple; to which may be added, that they might belong to some of their countrymen who abhorred those idols, and might consider them as dishonored, and even dreadfully polluted, by being so employed.

With respect to the last of these circumstances but one, the being injured in extravagant and riotous banquetting, I would remark, that they are wont, in their common repasts, to take great care that their carpets are not soiled, by spreading something over them;† but in public solemnities they affect great carlessness about them, as a mark of their respect and profound regard. Thus de la Vallé, describing the reception the Armenians of Ispahan gave the king of Persia, in one of their best houses, when he had a mind to attend at the celebration of their Epiphany, says, after the ceremonies were over, he was conducted to the house of Chogia Sefer, a little before deceased, where his three sons and his brother had prepared every thing for his reception: "all the floor of the house, and all the walks of the garden, from the gate next the street

* Ezek. xviii. 7, 12, 16, ch. xxx. 15.

† Russell's Descript. of Aleppo, vol. i. p. 172.

to the most remote apartments, were covered with carpets of brocatel, of cloth of gold, and other precious manufactures, which were for the most part spoiled, by being trampled upon by the feet of those that had been abroad in the rain, and their shoes very dirty: their custom being not to put them off at the entering into an house, but only at the door of the apartments, and the places where they would sit down."*

At the same time that the Prophet complains, that they fixed themselves in their idolatrous repast on the clothes they had taken to pledge, he adds, according to our version, "And they drink the wine of the condemned in the house of their GOD." Perhaps it may not be amiss, a little to consider that clause too before I finish this paper.

It is admitted by all, that wine was used in the sacred feasts of the heathen: if it were at all doubted, Jud. ix. 27, might be alleged as a proof of it: *They went out into the fields, and gathered their vineyards, and trod the grapes, and made merry, and went into the house of their* GOD, *and did eat and drink, and cursed Abimelech*, i.e. expressed their malevolence toward him in the songs they sung, on that occasion, in the temple.

But the difficulty is to determine, who are meant by the term עושים *anusheem*, translated *the condemned*. Now, if the one clause of the Prophet accurately answers the other, it should seem to mean those whose vineyards were seized by these idolaters, that had made usurious contracts with their poor brethren.

Nothing is more common with the Prophets, in their complaints against Israel, than the joining together the detaining of pledges and usury, Ezek. xviii. 8, 13, 17, are proofs of it. When they lent on usury, on failure of complying with their exorbitant demands, they were wont to seize on the lands and vineyards of those that were indebted to them. Neh. v. is a proof of this. The same chapter shows this course of procedure was esteemed,

* Tome 5, p. 45.

by the virtuous Jews, extremely cruel and oppressive, and is, I imagine, what Amos inveighs against here; the drinking in their idolatrous temples, the produce of those vineyards they had seized upon, and kept in their hands, because their usurious demands were not complied with: the original word, which signifies *mulcted*, may well be understood, I think, after this manner, at it means not only paying a penalty fixed by law, but being oppressed with an arbitrary exaction.*

"The wine of the condemned," I should think rather an unhappy translation, as it leads the imagination, to think of such an idolatrous feast as Ahab might have held with his lords, after having got possession of the vineyard of Naboth, unjustly condemned to death: a crime too atrocious, to be paired with the detaining and making use of valuable carpets left as a pledge in their hands. The rendering it "the wine of men punished by unjust fines."† leads us to think of the injustice of courts of judicature, instead of the oppressions of common life, to which the other clause refers: not to say that pecuniary mulcts were to be given to the injured, and if seized upon by the jugde,‡ their being made use of for an idolatrous purpose would not easily appear, if they really were applied to that purpose; while the drinking wine in a temple, by those who oppressively held the vineyards of other people in their hands, and used the wine produced by them for their drinking on all occasions, and consequently when they drank their own wine in an idolatrous temple, was apparent to every eye.

Especially if it was the new wine produced by these vineyards, which seems to have been the case when the men of Shechem went into an heathen temple, and eat,

* Which appears from the use of the word, 2 Kings xxiii. 33, and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3.

† See the Bishop of Waterford's Translation of the Minor Prophets.

‡ As is now frequently done, very unrighteously, in the East.

and drank, and cursed Abimelech, according to a passage just now cited from the book of Judges. So Dr. Chandler, in his travels in Lesser Asia, could only obtain a few boiled eggs, some grapes and bread, in one village; while another furnished them with a dish of boiled wheat, some *must of wine*, with honey, but in a very small quantity.*

OBSERVATION IV.

OF THE POLLUTIONS PRACTISED AMONG THE HEATHENS IN THEIR RELIGIOUS TRANSACTIONS.

Much of the distinguishing spirit of a passage of St. Peter is, I think, lost, when it is understood as descriptive of the immoralities of common life; it is rather to be considered, I should apprehend, as giving an account of the polluted nature of what the heathens called sacred transactions.

The words of St. Peter are, *For the time past of our life may suffice us to have wrought the will of the Gentiles, when we walked in lasciviousness, lusts, excess of wine, revellings, banquetings, and abominable idolatries.* 1 Epist. iv. 3.

Commentators have not been exact in distinguishing one species of sinfulness from another here, which yet must be highly requisite, when the faults of common life are supposed to be intended; nor do they seem to understand the passage as having reference to Gentile worship, except the last clause, "abominable idolatries." Whereas, I should suppose, the five particulars are intended to point out those circumstances that made their idolatries more especially abominable. All idolatry is represented as undoubtedly wrong, *Thou shalt worship the* Lord *thy* God, *and him only shalt thou serve*, Matt. iv. 10; but setting aside the consideration of its being wrong in its

* Page 171.

own nature, it might have been conducted as to its circumstances, agreeably enough; it might have been modest and solemn. It seems to be the impropriety of the circumstances attending their idolatries, which the apostle points out by the word αθεμιτοις translated *abominable*, which word in the original, or a kindred term, is elsewhere translated unlawful,* and means what is abhorrent from propriety and becomingness, supposing the adoring the idol was in itself innocent.

If we should next set ourselves to consider what is precisely meant by the words here used, and which made their idolatries so detestable, independently of the evil of worshipping the creature instead of the Creator, I should suppose the first πεπορευμενους εν ασελγειαις means *lewd practices*, the second επιθυμιαις *irritation of their voluptuous desires* the next οινοφλυγιαις *buffoonery*, the two last κωμοις and ποτοις *riotous and excessive eating* and *drinking*, which made their idolatries, which were otherwise wrong, still more detestable.

The third word I would more particularly endeavour to illustrate: it is Οινοφλυγια, translated in our version *excess of wine*, but should seem to mean *buffoonery through drinking too much wine*, if the words φλυω and φλυζω, from whence part of that compound word is derived, signify *to trifle*, to *play the buffoon*, as lexicographers tell us they do. All worship, and the conducting all matters supposed to be sacred, should be with solemnity.

To illustrate this, I would here present my reader with a passage of Maillet, who, after telling us that many traces of ancient heathenism remain in Egypt, goes on to take notice of the ridiculousness of some of their present customs derived from that source. "You can hardly imagine, sir, how many traces of this ancient religion are still met with in Egypt, which have subsisted there for so many ages. In fact, without speaking of their passion for pilgrimages, which notwithstanding its having changed

* Acts x. 28.

its object is nevertheless the same; the modern Egyptians have still the same taste for processions, that was remarked in their ancestors. There is perhaps no country in the world, where they are more frequent than here. All the difference that I find in the matter is, that the ancients practised them in honor of their idols, and that the Egyptians of our days perform them in honor of their santons, or saints, who are not much better. As to what remains, there is no regularity in these ceremonies, neither in their way of walking, or in their vestments. Every one dresses himself as he likes; but those that are in the most grotesque, and most ridiculous habits, are always most esteemed. Some dance; others caper; some shout; in one word, the great point is who shall commit most follies in these extravagant masquerades. The more they do, the more they believe themselves possessed by the spirit of their prophet."*

If this is a copy of the old heathenish processions in honor of their idols, I think we may safely admit it to be a very exact explanation of the Οινοφλυγιαι of St. Peter, and which made their idolatries, which were wrong in themselves, so much the more abhorrent from all propriety.

With regard to the first of those five things mentioned by the apostle, and which relates to *acts of lewdness*, often attending heathen worship, a common Christian, unacquainted with the writings of the Greeks and Romans, may see what St. Peter meant, by reading a passage in the Apocrypha: "to pollute also the temple of Jerusalem, and to call it the temple of Jupiter Olympius; and that in Gerizim, of Jupiter the defender of strangers, as they did desire that dwelt in the place. The coming in of this mischief was sore and grievous to the people: for the temple was filled with riot and revelling, by the Gentiles, who *dallied with harlots*, and had *to do with women* within the circuit of the holy places; and besides that, brought in things that

* Lett. 10, p. 59, 60.

were not lawful. The altar also was filled with *profane* things which the law forbiddeth." 2 Macc. vi. 2—5. Here we find obscene actions, and even whoredom, practised by the Gentiles, not directly to do dishonor to the temple of Jehovah ; but in that structure after it was become the temple of Jupiter Olympius, consequently in his service.

The more refined morals and devotion of the Mohammedans, will not permit of my producing remains of heathenish worship, among them, entirely resembling this ;* but as to the second, επιθυμιαι, which expresses such managements as tended to excite voluptuous desires, Maillet has given us a curious account of that article, in the representation he has given of modern Egyptian pilgrimages, derived from those of heathen antiquity.

" I ought not to forget here a singular usage, which was constantly practised in this kind of voyages.† In all the places, where festivals of this kind were held, and at which the pilgrims always arrived by water, as they could not otherwise get there,‡ it was the custom to have a mock fight, between those that wanted to disembark and those of the place, or at least of the boatmen who had

* The Mohammedans use a small carpet in their religious worship, for the purpose of prostrating themselves during the time of prayer. This is termed, سجاده *sejadeh*, and it appears from a well known couplet in the poet *Hafez*, that this very *carpet* is made use of in their festive revelries, and they even glory in its being *stained* with the wine used in their mad compotations.

بهی سجاده رنگین کن گرت پیر مغان گوید
که سالک بیخبر نبود زراه و رسم منزلها

" *Stain* the *sacred carpet with wine*, if the master of the assembly commands thee, for a traveller is not ignorant of the *ways* and *customs* of *taverns*."

From which we learn, that it was even customary to employ their *sacred carpets in* their debaucheries. EDIT.

† He is speaking of the ancient Egyptian water pilgrimages.

‡ On account of their being celebrated in the time the Nile overflowed.

already landed. On those occasions, they wet one another on the water's edge: they tumbled one another into the Nile, from whence they came out soaked thoroughly with water; they treated one another at these times with much scurrilous language; until at length, after a pretty long struggle, in which the shirts and drawers were torn in pieces, the last comers were always victorious over those that opposed their landing. This practice, observed generally in all those places of Egypt, where any of these festivals were celebrated, was very particularly in use at Canopus, where people went annually to visit a famous temple dedicated to Serapis. Whole troops of sailors were to be found there, who came thither on purpose to combat the inhabitants of that city, and after having obtained the victory, to make some advantage of the liberality of the spectators. Historians assure us, that of all spectacles which were presented at this festival, people were most pleased with these skirmishes. The most famous combatants were commonly only in drawers of silk, and without a shirt; so that when they seized hold of one another they soon tore these drawers in pieces, and became stark naked. This spectacle occasioned never ending shouts. In the mean while, those that were reduced to this state took refuge in the water, while their adversaries made use of every method to force them out of it. After long combating, they without distinction presented themselves to all present with a basin in their hands. The women with one hand put a piece of money, and were supposed to cover their eyes with the other. The men, at giving them money with one hand, had a right, by custom, to strike them with the other a severe blow with a bull's pizzle, with which they furnished themselves for this very purpose. The poor wretches oftentimes received a hundred strokes to get a few halfpence, which they dearly earned.

"To these festivals have since succeeded those of Sidy Ibrahim, of Sidy Hamet the Bedouin, and of many other

Turkish santons, whose tombs are still visited every year with the same concourse of people, and nearly the same ceremonies. The oquelles of our days are used instead of the victualling boats of ancient times, and now, as formerly, the dancing women, with the men, that attend them, are of the lowest class."*

The men's exposing their nudities in these combats tended to excite voluptuous desires in the women; and if these managements are now laid aside, as he only says, the visits paid to the tombs of the Turkish saints are with nearly the same ceremonies; yet we are sure the postures of the modern dancing women of the East, are irritating to the last degree to the passions of the men, according to the complaint of many travellers, yet these, it seems, attend these Turkish devotions, derived from those of the ancient heathens.

I am sorry that I have to add, that if the heathens of the East, in the time of St. Peter, were surprised at finding that the converts to the Gospel would not *run to the same excess of riot* that they did, neither complying with the established religious ceremonies of their countrymen, or adopting new objects of veneration, but retaining similar managements to their's, he would have had but little cause for such a remark, had he lived in our times. "Coming to the church of the holy sepulchre," says Maundrell, speaking of the day in which the holy fire was expected to appear, "we found it crowded with a numerous and distracted mob, making a hideous clamour very unfit for that sacred place, and better becoming Bacchanals than Christians. Getting with some struggle through this crowd, we went up into the gallery, on that side of the church next the Latin convent, whence we could discern all that passed in this religious frenzy.

"They began their disorders by running round the holy sepulchre with all their might and swiftness, crying

* Lett. 2, p. 81, 82.

out as they went *Huia*, which signifies *this is he*, or *this is it*; an expression by which they assert the verity of the Christian religion. After they had by these vertiginous circulations and clamours turned their heads, and inflamed their madness, they begin to act the most antic tricks and postures, in a thousand shapes of distraction. Sometimes they dragged one another along the floor all round the sepulchre; sometimes they set one man upright on another's shoulders, and in this posture marched round; sometimes they took men with their heels upward, and hurried them about in such an indecent manner, ast o expose their nudities; sometimes they tumbled round the sepulchre, after the manner of tumblers on the stage. In a word, nothing can be imagined more rude or extravagant, than what was acted upon this occasion."

He afterward observes, that when the glimmering of the holy fire was seen through some chinks of the door of the sepulchre, "certainly bedlam itself never saw such an unruly transport, as was produced in the mob at this sight."*

Such mad pranks would have been called by St. Peter Οινοφλυγιαι, actions like those done by men distracted by excess of wine; but oh! how unbecoming the seriousness of the religion of JESUS, and the veneration they would be supposed to pay to the sacred sepulchre of our LORD!

OBSERVATION V.

CONCERNING THE RED PAINTED IDOLS USED BY THE ANCIENT HEATHENS.

THE ancient heathens were wont to paint their idols red: but we may be at a loss to guess why this colour

* Journey p. 94, 95, 96.

should be chosen for a divinity, rather than another, and particularly why rather chosen than the natural colour of the human body.

Since they chose, in common, to give them a human form, one would have imagined they should rather have made the resemblance as complete as might be, and consequently painted them with the last mentioned colour. May we not conjecture that the practice of colouring them red, arose originally from their being set up in memory of warriors, remarkable for shedding much blood? Such a conjecture seems to be favoured by an observation made by Niebuhr, which shall be recited under this article.

That it was the custom of the heathens to colour them *red*, in the East, is remarked by the author of the wisdom of Solomon, ch. xiii. 13, 14. The carpenter "carved it diligently when he had nothing else to do, and formed it by the skill of his understanding, and fashioned it to the image of a man; or made it like some vile beast, laying it over with vermillion, and with paint, colouring it red, and covering every spot therein."

As they covered them with purple raiment,* the dress of royalty, agreeably enough to their known character of being the deified representations of deceased kings; they might, in like manner, besmear them with red paint, on account of their being images of dead warriors, who had been often besmeared with blood.

This thought was suggested by what Niebuhr has said, concerning an Indian festival,† in which they are said "to rub their clothes, their faces, and their hands, with yellow and red, in memory of the clothes of the hero of that solemnity's being coloured with blood, and those of his attendants, in a battle they at that time commemorate. The Indians at that time run about the streets with their hands daubed with proper materials of these colours, and

* Baruch vi. 12. † Voyages, tome 2, p. 22.

also syringes full of liquids of the same dyes, which they apply to those of their religion, and nobody pretends to wipe off these spots, since another would come in an instant and renew them."

Is it then unnatural to suppose red was used at first, on the account of their images being set up in remembrance of princes who were great warriors, and deified on account of their success in war? Later painters have drawn angels in white, as a natural mode of expressing heavenly purity; and I cannot think of a more natural reason to be assigned for the painting the deities of the heathens red, than that I have proposed, deduced from this East Indian solemnity.

From deified warriors the colour might come to be applied to idols of every kind, and to be considered as having something godlike in it.

But however that be, these Indians of the coast of Malabar, that daub themselves and their countrymen with yellow and red, in a solemnity that commemorates a great victory of one of their heroes, daub, in like manner, their deities with that colour: so Niebuhr informs us, in the same volume,* that he found a chapel in the great pagoda, or Indian temple which he visited, which is the only part of it which the Indians at present make use of, and that he found not only two figures there, of human shape with an elephant's head,† lately rubbed with red colouring; but some heaps of rough unshaped stones also, which probably represented some subaltern divinity, or some hero or saint, for such are often found at Bombay upon the highway, and especially under certain trees, that the Indians look upon to be sacred.

The custom then the apochryphal writer mentions, seems to be of great extent among the heathen, and used

* Page 32.

† This was the Hindoo god *Pollear*, who presides over marriages, and to whom all newly erected buildings are dedicated. EDIT.

not only as far as Babylon, but much further, whether it arose from the cause I have been assigning, or some other.

Nor were sacred figures in human shape only thus adorned, or of beasts, which this apochryphal writer mentions, but heaps of unhewn stones in like manner, which are supposed to be representatives of some being which they were disposed to worship.

The passage in Arnobius, quoted by the very learned Grotius, in his comment on this passage of the Apochrypha,* is cited with great propriety to illustrate that clause, that mentions the sacred images of beasts being painted by the heathen, since Arnobius is speaking of the sacred heads of lions, whose consecrated busts, it seems, were thus coloured. That is clear and uncontrovertible in general; though the learned seem to be very much puzzled, distinctly to explain what these lions' heads were designed to represent,† and Arnobius himself, who lived so many years back, and in the countries where these objects of worship were to be seen, seems not to have known with precision, what they were designed to point out.

I cannot, by any means, adopt the sentiment of the learned Gebhartus Elmenhorstius,‡ who, citing a passage from Pliny's Natural History, in which he observes, that it was the custom on festival days to paint the face of the image of Jupiter with minium, seems to suppose, that the painting Arnobius refers to, was of the same kind. As they were water colours, I apprehend, that the ancients made use of, they must of course be liable to be washed off, or at least to fade in the moist air of a temple, and the cheeks were

* Adver. Gentes, lib. 6, p. 196, ed. Lugd. Batav. 1651.

† Vide Desid. Heraldi Animad. in Arnob. p. 242, ib. Whether modern antiquarians have made these lions' heads the subject of their more successful disquisitions, I do not know.

‡ Observ. ad. Arnob. ibid. p. 176.

therefore, I should imagine, repainted from time to time, to give the statue something more of the appearance of life; just, as I remember, Dr. Richard Chandler tells us, in his Travels through Greece,* he saw a child lay dead, dressed, its hair powdered, the face painted, and further bedecked with leaf gold. This was visibly to remove the ghastliness of death as much as possible, and to comfort the afflicted mother with something of the appearance of life, and of its preceding beauty. But this could not be any part of the intention of painting the face of a lion with minium, which Arnobius speaks of; that was not its natural colour.

OBSERVATION VI.

OF THE CURIOUS ADDITION AT THE END OF THE BOOK OF JOSHUA, IN THE SEPTUAGINT VERSION.

THERE is a remarkable addition in the Septuagint to the sacred history concerning Joshua, which deserves attention, and naturally engages the mind to inquire, whether it was made by these Egyptian translators of the Jewish Scriptures, in conformity to what they knew was practised in the burials of Egypt; or whether it was on that account, expunged by the Jewish critics from the Hebrew original.

That Vatican copy of the Septuagint has given us this addition to the account that appears in the Hebrew copies, of the interment of Joshua, in the 30th verse of the 24th chapter of that book that bears his name: *There they put with him, into the sepulchre in which they buried him, the knives of flint with which he circumcised the children of Israel in Gilgal, when he brought them*

* Page 300.

out of Egypt, as the LORD *commanded them ; and they are there unto this day.**

On the contrary, the famous Alexandrine copy of the Septuagint, and some others, have not these clauses.

Whether this superadded account is spurious, or not, there seems to be a manifest allusion to the manner in which the ancient Egyptians were wont to bury their dead.

Maillet, in his papers, informs us, "that sometime before he wrote, the principal person of Sacara, a village near to the plain where the mummies lie buried, caused some of these subterraneous vaults to be opened ; and as he was very much my friend, he communicated to me various curiosities, a great number of mummies, of wooden figures, and inscriptions in hieroglyphical and unknown characters, which were found there. In one of these vaults they found for instance, the coffin and embalmed body of a woman, before which was placed a figure of wood, representing a youth on his knees, laying a finger on his mouth, and holding in his other hand, a sort of chafing dish, which was placed on his head, and in which, without doubt, had been some perfumes. This youth had divers hieroglyphical characters on his stomach. They broke this figure in pieces, to see if there was no gold enclosed in it. There was found in the mummy, which was opened in like manner for the same reason, a small vessel, about a foot long, filled with the same kind of balsam with that made use of to preserve bodies from corruption. Perhaps this might be a mark by which they distinguished those persons who had been employed in embalming the dead."†

* Εκει εθηκαν μεθ' αυτϛ εις το Μνημα εις ο εθαψαν αυτον εκει τας μαχαιρας τας πετρινας, εν αις περιετεμε τϛς υιϛς Ισραηλ εν Γαλγαλοις, οτε εξηγαγεν αυτϛς Αιγυπτϛ, καθα συνεταξεν αυτοις κυριος και εκει εισιν εως της σημερον ημερας.

† Descr. de l'Egypte, p. 277, 278.

He goes on: "I caused another mummy to be opened, which was the body of a female, and which had been given me by the Sieur Bagarry. It was opened in the house of the capuchin fathers of this city.* This mummy had its right hand placed upon its stomach, and under this hand were found the strings of a musical instrument, perfectly well preserved. From hence I should conclude, that this was the body of a person that used to play on this instrument, or at least of one that had a great taste for music. I am persuaded, that if every mummy were examined with the like care, we should find some sign or other by which the character of the party would be known."

The burying of those knives of flints with Joshua must have been done, or supposed to have been done, as a mark of an event the most remarkable of his life, in conformity to the Egyptian modes of distinguishing the dead, by tokens of a similar nature.

Whether I have been right in it, or not, I cannot say, but I have been sometimes inclined to conjecture, that the enjoining Joshua to make use of flints for the purpose of circumcising, at a time when the manufacturing of iron and brass was not unknown,† might be derived from the customs of Egypt. They that have given an account of the Egyptian way of embalming, tell us, it was an Ethiopian stone, called basaltes, that was used for opening the body to be embalmed, by which embalming, it acquired a sort of immortality.‡ In this view might he not be enjoined to use a like kind of knives for the circumcising the Israelites, which circumcision the Jews of after times, at least, looked upon as a token and pledge of their resurrection from the dead, never to return to corruption? The precept to use knives of this kind might be intended to give some expectation of this nature. The hope of a resurrection from the dead seems to have been no stranger to the breast of Job,‖ whose story it is commonly believ-

* Grand Cairo. † See Gen. iv. 22. ‡ Greenhill, p. 251.

‖ Job xix. 25, 26, 27.

ed, was written before Joshua assumed the government of the Jewish people.*

At worst it is not the most improbable supposition that ever was formed.

OBSERVATION VII.

MOURNERS IN ANCIENT TIMES NOT ONLY LAID ASIDE THEIR ORNAMENTS, BUT PUT OFF THEIR OUTER GARMENTS.

THE Septuagint, in their translation, suppose that the children of Israel not only laid aside their earrings, and such like ornaments, in a time of professed deep humiliation before GOD, but their upper or more beautiful garments too. Moses says nothing of this last circumstance; but as it is a modern practice, so it appears by their version to have been as ancient as their time, and probably took place long before that.

The passage I refer to is in the 33d of Exodus, verse 4—6, *When the people heard these evil tidings, they mourned: and no man did put on him his ornaments, For the* LORD *had said unto Moses, say unto the children of Israel, ye are a stiffnecked people: I will come up into the midst of thee in a moment, and consume thee: therefore now put off thy ornaments from thee, that I may know what to do unto thee. And the children of Israel stript themselves of their ornaments, by the mount Horeb.*

The Septuagint gives us this as the translation of the passage,† "The people having heard this sad declaration,

* For it is apprehended that it was written by Moses.

† Και ακουσας ο λαος το ρημα το πονηρον τουτο, καλεπενθησεν εν πενθικοις. Και ειπε κυριος τοις υιοις Ισραηλ, - - νυν ουν αφελεσθε τας ΣΤΟΛΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΔΟΞΩΝ υμων, και τον Κοσμον, και δειξω σοι α ποιησω σο. Και περιειλαντο οι υιοι Ισραηλ τον κοσμον αυτων, και την περιζωλην απο τυ Ορυς Χωρηβ.

mourned after the manner of mourners. And the LORD said unto the children of Israel . . . . Now therefore put off your robes of glory, and your ornaments, and I will show you the things I will do unto you. And the children of Israel put off their *ornaments* and robes by the mount, by Horeb."

If it had not been the custom to put off their upper garments, in times of deep mourning, in the days that the Septuagint translation was made, they would not have inserted this circumstance in the account Moses gives of their mourning, and concerning which he was silent. They must have supposed too, that this practice might be in use in those elder times.

That it is now practised in the East, appears from the account Pitts gives of the ceremonies of the Mohammedan pilgrimage to Mecca. "A few days after this, we came to a place called Rabbock, about four days' sail on this side of Mecca, where all the hagges* excepting those of the female sex, do enter into *hirrawen*, or *ihram*, i.e. they take off all their clothes, covering themselves with two hirrawems, or large white cotton wrappers; one they put about their middle, which reaches down to their ancles; the other they cover the upper part of their body with, except the head; and they wear no other thing on their bodies but these wrappers, only a pair of gimgameea, that is *thin soled shoes* like sandals, the over leather of which covers only the toes, their insteps being all naked. In this manner, like humble penitents, they go from Rabbock until they come to Mecca, to approach the temple; many times enduring the scorching heat of the sun, until the very skin is burnt off their backs and arms, and their heads swollen to a very great degree."†

Presently after he informs us, "that the time of their wearing this mortifying habit is about the space of seven days." Again, p. 138, "It was a sight indeed able to

* Pilgrims. † Page 115, 116.

pierce once's heart, to behold so many thousands in their garments of humility and mortification, with their naked heads, and cheeks watered with tears; and to hear their grievous sighs and sobs, begging earnestly for the remission of their sins, promising newness of life, using a form of penitential expressions; and thus continuing for the space of four or five hours."

The Septuagint supposes the Israelites made much the same appearance as these Mohammedan pilgrims, when Israel stood in anguish of soul at the foot of mount Horeb, though Moses says nothing of putting off any of their vestments.

Some passages of the Jewish Prophets seem to confirm the notion, of their stripping themselves of some of their clothes in times of deep humiliation, particularly Micah i. 8: *Therefore I will wail and howl, I will go stript and naked: I will make a wailing like the dragons, and mourning as the owls.*

Saul's stripping himself, mentioned 1 Sam. xix. 24, is perhaps to be understood of his assuming the appearance of those that were deeply engaged in devotional exercises, into which he was unintentionally brought by the prophetic influences that came upon him, and in which he saw others engaged.

OBSERVATION VIII.

OF THE CANOPIES USED ABOUT BEDS IN THE EAST.

An accident led me into a train of thought, relating to that piece of furniture the Romans called a *canopeum*, and which is said to denote a canopy or pavilion made of net work, which hung about beds, and was designed to keep away gnats, which are sometimes insupportably troublesome to the more delicate. I recollected that it is at this time used in the East; and that if it may be

supposed to have obtained so early there as the time of king Saul, it may very happily illustrate a passage of Scripture, of which our commentators have given a very unsatisfactory account.

The passage I refer to is in the first book of Samuel, ch. xix. 12—17. *So Michal let David down through a window; and he went, and fled, and escaped. And Michal took an image,* התרפים ha Terapheem, *and laid it in the bed, and put* כביר העזים kebeer ha azzeem, *a pillow of goats' hair for his bolster, and covered it with a cloth. And when Saul sent messengers to take David, she said he is sick. And Saul sent messengers again to see David, saying, Bring him up to me in the bed, that I may slay him. And when the messengers were come in, behold, there was an image in the bed, with a pillow of goats' hair for his bolster. And Saul said unto Michal, why hast thou deceived me so, and sent away mine enemy that he is escaped?**

I should suppose a conopeum, or guard against gnats, is what is meant by the word translated a *pillow of goats' hair.* I cannot conceive what deception could arise from the pillow's being stuffed with goats' hair, or for making a truss of goats' hair serve for a pillow. This last must have been, on the contrary, very disagreeable to a sick man; especially one, who having married a princess, must be supposed to have been in possession of agreeable accommodations of life, such at least as were used at that time, and in that country. A piece of fine net work to guard him

* Our translators followed the reading of the Vulgate *pulvinar*, in translating כביר *kebeer*, a *pillow*. Of this word Parkhurst says, it is a kind of Muscheto net, which, according to Dr. Shaw, *is a close curtain of gauze or fine linen, used all over the East by people of better fashion to keep out the flies.* And that they had such anciently cannot be doubted. Thus when Judith had beheaded Holofernes in the bed, she pulled down the Muscheto net, το Κωνωπειον, wherein he did lie in his drunkenness, from the pillars. Judith xiii. 9—15. The reader will observe, that our English term *canopy*, comes from the Greek word κωνωπειον from Κωνωψ a *gnat*, because it was used as a defence against those insects. EDIT.

from gnats, and other troublesome insects that might disturb the repose of a sick man, was extremely natural, if the use of them was as early as the days of Saul. It is in one place translated a *thick cloth*, in another, a *sieve;* now a cloth of a nature fit to use for a sieve, is just such a thing as I am supposing, a fine net work or gauze like cloth. Here it is translated *a pillow*, but for no other reason, but because it appeared to be something relating to the head;* but a canopeum relates to the head as well as a pillow, being a canopy suspended over the whole bed, or at least so far as to surround the head, and such upper part of the body as might be uncovered.

Modern canopies of this nature may be of other materials: they may be of silk or thread, but goats' hair was in great use in those earlier ages, and may be imagined to have been put to this use in those times, as our modern sieves still continue frequently to be made of the hair of animals.

After this preparatory remark, I would produce a proof, that this kind of defence against gnats is used in the East. "Among the hurtful animals that Egypt produces," says Maillet, "those that we call gnats ought not to be forgotten. If their size prevents all apprehensions of dangerous accidents from them, their multitudes makes them insupportable. The Nile water, which remains in the canals and the lakes, into which it makes its way every year, produces such a prodigious quantity of these insects, that the air is often darkened by them. The night time is that in which people are most exposed to receive punctures from them; and it is with a view to guard themselves from them, that they sleep so much here on the tops of their houses, which are flat roofed. These terraces are paved with square flat stones, very thin; and as in this country, they have no apprehensions from rain or fogs, they are wont to place their beds on

* Our translators have even taken occasion, from one thing relating to the head, to mention both *pillow* and *bolster*.

these roofs every night, in order to enjoy their repose more undisturbedly and coolly, than they could any where else. Gnats seldom rise so high in the air. The agitation of the air at that height is too much for them; they cannot bear it. However, for greater precaution, persons of any thing of rank never fail to have a tent set up in these terraces, in the midst of which is suspended a pavilion of fine linen, or of gauze, which falls down to the ground, and encloses the mattress. Under the shelter of this pavilion, which the people of the country call *namousie*, from the word *namous*, which in their language signifies *fly*, or *gnat*, people are secured against these insects, not only on the terraces, but every where else. If they were to make use of them in Europe, I do not doubt but that people that sleep in the day time, and above all the sick, would find the advantage of them; for it must be acknowledged, that in summer time those small insects, which introduce themselves into all places, are insupportable to people that would take their repose, and much more so to those that are ill."* †

No curious carved statue, which indeed one can hardly imagine was to be found in the house of David, was necessary; any thing formed in a tolerable resemblance of the body of a man was sufficient for this deception, covered over with the coverlet belonging to the mattress on which it was laid, and where the head should have been placed, being covered all over with a pavilion of goats' hair, through which the eye could not penetrate. A second visit, with a more exact scrutiny, discovered the artifice.

There is another passage in which the word occurs, and in the same sense. It is in the account the historian gives us, of a real cause of the death of Benhadad, the king of Syria, 2 Kings viii. 15 : *And it came to pass on the*

* Descript. de l'Egypte, lett. 9, p. 37.

† Fine nets are hung round beds in some of the fenny counties in England, as a defence against the gnats, which in those places are exceedingly troublesome, so as wholly to prevent a person from sleeping. EDIT.

morrow, that he took a thick cloth, and dipt it in water, and spread it over his face, so that he died: and Hazael reigned in his stead. If Hazael stifled him, why all this parade? the drawing the pillow from under his head, and clapping it over his mouth, would have been sufficient. Why the procuring a thick cloth, according to our translators? why the dipping it in water?

It is the same word כבר *kebeer*, with that in Samuel, and, it is reasonable therefore to suppose, means the same thing, a gnat pavilion. The dipping it in water may well be supposed to be under the pretence of coolness and refreshment.

So Pitts tells us, that the people of Mecca "do usually sleep on the tops of the houses for the air, or in the streets before their doors. Some lay the small bedding they have on a thin mat on the ground; others have a slight frame, made much like drink stalls, on which we place barrels, standing on four legs, corded with palm cordage, on which they put their bedding. Before they bring out their bedding, they sweep the streets, and water them. As for my own part, I usually lay open, without any bed covering, on the top of the house; only I took a linen cloth, dipt in the water, and after I had wrung it, covered myself with it in the night: and when I awoke, I should find it dry; then I would wet it again; and thus I did two or three times in a night."*

In like manner Niebuhr tells us, in his description of Arabia,† that "as it is excessively hot, in the summer time, on the eastern shore of the Persian gulf, and they do not find that the dew there is unwholesome, they sleep commonly in the open air." He goes on, "in the island of Charedsj, I never enjoyed my repose better than when the dew moistened my bed in the night."

Hazael then had a fair pretence to offer to moisten the gnat pavilion, if Benhadad did not himself desire it, on the account of his extreme heat, which might prove the

* Pitts' account, p. 123, 124. † Page 9.

occasion of his death, while the distemper itself was not mortal. Whether the moisture of that piece of furniture proved at that time destructive, from the nature of the disease; or whether Hazael stifled him with it: we are not told by the historian, and therefore cannot pretend absolutely to determine. Conjecture is not likely to be very favourable to Hazael.

OBSERVATION IX.

OF THE PRESENTS MADE BY DAVID TO THE PEOPLE, ON HIS BRINGING HOME THE ARK.

NOTHING can be more natural, than the representation given by our translation of the royal and sacred feast David made, on occasion of his bringing the ark of GOD into a tent he had prepared for it, in the city in which he had chosen to reside, which is described in 2 Sam. vi. 19: *He dealt among all the people, even among the whole multitude of Israel, as well to the women as to every one, a cake of bread; and a good piece,* of flesh; *and a flagon,* of wine; *so all the people departed, every one to his house.* For all this is agreeable to what must be supposed to have happened on such a solemn occasion. It is surprising, on the contrary, that the Septuagint version should represent the royal donative as consisting merely of different kinds of bread, or at least farinaceous preparations of the bread and cake kind.

The presents daily made to Dr. Chandler and his associates, by the Greeks of Athens, and described by him* as consisting of flowers, sometimes perfumed, of pomegranates, oranges and lemons fresh gathered, pastry, and other like articles. But very different, sure! would the presents of king David be to his people, on so solemn an occasion, and when so many of them were from home,

* Trav. in Greece, p. 132, 133.

and of course scantily provided. Would he have confined himself to a little pastry, when so many animals were sacrificed; though the poor oppressed* Greeks of Athens might present nothing else of any consequence?

Leavened bread, and three sorts of unleavened, might be made use of on this occasion.† The greatest part of the flesh also of the peace offerings was to be eaten by the offerer,‡ and those whom he thought fit to make partakers with him of the repast, and was wont to be eaten in private houses;‖ but when represented as a thanksgiving, as these peace offerings were, they were to be eaten in the day they were offered, and not to be kept so long as the next.§ Other peace offerings might be kept to the second day, but no longer.¶ The number of the peace offerings, on occasions of this sort, was, at other times extremely large, as we learn from 2 Chron. vii. 5, 7; and must have been many under such a zealous prince as David. Great numbers must then, in consequence, have been partakers of this sacred flesh; and that all that attended should receive a good piece of flesh, as large as it could be reasonably expected each would consume, in the limited time, considering the universal abstemiousness of those hot countries, is what it is natural to suppose the historian designed to express.

It is so natural, that Josephus, who adopted the Septuagint translation of 2 Sam. vi. 19, and consequently supposes three different kinds of bread were given to each person, yet could not forbear adding a piece of sacred flesh to the royal donation,** though nothing of that sort appears in that translation: the nature of the feast, forced him to that supplement. If he found himself so

* Page 119. † See Lev. vii. 11, &c. ‡ In the same chapter.

‖ Prov. vii. 14, 15. § Lev. vii. 15. ¶ Page 16, 17.

** Διαδως κολλυριδα αρτω εσχαριτην και λαγανον τηγανιτον και ΜΕΡΙΔΑ ΘΥΜΑΤΟΣ. Antiq. lib. 7, c. 4.

strongly impelled to make that addition, surely it must be reasonable to suppose it was mentioned originally by the Prophet that wrote this history?

The vulgar Latin, accordingly, supposes that flesh was given by David in this sacred feast, and that it was the sense of one of the three clauses made use of in the Hebrew original, though it supposes the other two signify different preparations of the bread kind; partitus est universæ multitudini Israel, tam viro quam mulieri, singulis collyridam panis unam, et *assaturam bubulæ carnis* unam, et similam frixam oleo.

It is as reasonable, though neither Josephus, nor the vulgar Latin take any notice of it, to suppose David gave the people wine as well as bread and flesh.

In eating their peace offerings they were to rejoice before the LORD;* it is natural to suppose then, there was wine in those sacred feasts of joy, to be drank in such quantities as suited a joyous solemnity; not used sparingly, nor yet so as to disturb the understanding, or unfit the soul for devout exercises of praise.

This is confirmed by what is said concerning Elkanah and his family, when they went up yearly to sacrifice to the LORD: he gave them all portions of the sacred meat; to one of his family whom he more dearly loved, a worthy or more delicious portion; and wine, it should seem, was commonly also used, since the high priest thought Hannah was drunken, on occasion of this feast. 1 Sam. i. 3, 4, 5, 9, 13.

How it came to pass that the historian made use of words different from that used to express portions of meat, both on other joyful occasions, as Neh. viii. 10, 13, Esth. ix. 19, 22, and on those too that were sacred, 1 Sam. x. 3, Exod. xxix. 40, &c. how it happened that persons so well skilled in the Hebrew, as to be concerned in translating the Old Testament into Greek, should not

* Deut. xxvii. 7.

understand the true meaning of the words; what should be the cause of their translating them so differently in different books; or translating them at all, since sometimes they give the Hebrew words in Greek letters; and what the words in the original, ואשישה ואשפר *ve asheeshah, ve eshappur* which we translate *a good piece of flesh and a flagon of wine*, precisely signify; and what the proofs of their so signifying: are questions of considerable curiosity, and may occasion a good deal of amusement, but which I will not take upon me wholly to examine.

I cannot however forbear observing, that the Rabbinical notion, that the word we translate *a good piece of flesh*, signifies the *sixth part of an animal*,* must be a very idle one, since a peace offering of thanksgiving was to have been eaten up the first day: to what purpose then would it have been to give every person a sixth part of a sacrificed animal, when a great deal less would have been as much as each could have consumed in the limited time?†

But though the word cannot be understood, I think, to signify, that David gave to each person the sixth part of an animal that had been presented to GOD in sacrifice, yet, perhaps this Rabbinical tradition may lead to the true explanation of the word. Maillet affirms, that a sheep, with a proper quantity of rice, which answers the purpose of bread very frequently in the East, will furnish a good repast for sixty people. If now the people of the Jewish army were divided into tens, as it seems they were, who might mess together, and lodge under one and

* See Buxtorf's Epitome, art. אשפר *eshappar*, where he tells us the ancient Hebrews understood it to signify the sixth part of a bullock: Prisci Hebræorum sapientes explicarunt quasi ex tribus vocabulis compositum, nempe unum ex sexta bovis, id est, sexta pars bovis.

† Sixty persons, Maillet tells us, will make a good repast, *un juste repas* are his words, with twentyfive pounds of rice and a sheep. See the eleventh letter of his description of Egypt. A sheep then would be sufficient, with a proper quantity of bread, for thirty people, allowing them twice a day to eat of it. A much smaller part of a bullock than a sixth for each person would therefore be sufficient.

the same tent, as is highly probable, from every tenth man's being appointed to fetch, or prepare provision for their fellow soldiers, according to what we read, Judges xx. 10,* then the sixth part of a sheep would be sufficient for the men at one repast, and be sufficient for one mess or tent of soldiers; and from this particular case it may come to signify, in general, a sufficient portion for each person, which indeed seems to be the meaning of our translators, when they render the word a *good piece of flesh*, enough for an ample repast.

As for the bread, which the Septuagint translators suppose, very improbably, was all that the royal bounty furnished the people with on this joyful solemnity, understanding the three words of three different sorts of the bread kind, it is observable, that they do not agree in their way of translating the terms made use of in the Hebrew original. In the translation of the second of Samuel according to the Vatican copy, they say David distributed to each of the people

Κολλυριδα Αρτ, *a cake of bread;*
Εσχαριτην, *a roasting piece of beef;*
Λαγανον απο Τηγανς, *a cake from the frying pan;*

that is, three sorts of bread, or farinaceous preparations, distinguished by these three names. Nor does Lambert Bos give any account of any copy's differing in this representation; but in their translation of the first of Chron. xvi. 3, David distributed to each person present at the solemnity,

Αρτον ενα Αρτοκοπικον και Αμοριτην } according to the Vatican copy; but { Χεχαρ Αρτ Λαγανον τηγανς και Κολλυριτην } according to the Complutensian.

Strange variations these! Though they agree in both places, as to the Vatican copy, that only bread was given,

* See vol. iii. Observation LXIV. p. 332.

yet translating the words by different Greek terms, in the two parallel places; and according to the Complutensian copy, not venturing to translate the first Hebrew word ככר *kikar*, but merely changing the Hebrew letters into Greek χεχαρ. This shows how little they understood, even in those ancient times, the certain meaning of those words, or those that from time to time undertook to make emendations, by altering the original words of that translation.

But not to dwell on these variations. A ככר *kikar* of bread, which is the first word of the three used by the sacred writer of the book of Chronicles, and which word is that the Greek translators of the Septuagint, according to the Complutensian copy, would not venture to translate, was what was given to the Prophet Jeremiah, when he was delivered from the dungeon, and treated with some regard, as alone sufficient food for a day, in that time of affliction,* and consequently, with meat, might well be esteemed, even by the devout generosity of David himself, sufficient for this day of rejoicing, if one of these words relate to meat, of which I can have little doubt, when I consider the multitude of peace offerings the Jewish princes were wont to offer on solemn occasions. A liberal portion then of meat, we may believe, was given every person, abundantly sufficient for a joyous repast, but not extravagantly large, which would have been perfectly vain, as every one received a portion; and it was sacred meat, which according to the Mosaic ritual, might not be long kept.

The other part of this royal and sacred donation was, according to our translation, a *flagon of wine* to each. I suppose, a *gourd full* of wine is meant.

The shells of gourds are used to this day, in the Eastern parts of the world, for holding quantities of wine, for present spending, and particularly in sacred festivals. So

* Jer. xxxvii. 21.

when Dr. Richard Chandler was about leaving Athens, he tells us, he supped at the Custom house, where "the Archon* had provided a gourd of choice wine, and one of the crew excelled on the lyre."† And describing a panegyris, or general sacred assembly of the Greeks in the Lesser Asia, he informs us, "that the church was only stones piled up for walls, without a roof, and stuck on this solemnity with wax candles lighted, and with small tapers, and that after fulfilling their religious duties, it is the custom of the Greeks to indulge in festivity; at which time he found the multitude sitting under half tents, with a store of melons and grapes, besides lambs and sheep to be killed, wine in gourds and skins, and other necessary provision.‡

What the size of the gourds that anciently grew in that country was, or what that of those that are now found there, may not be quite certain;‖ but I doubt not but that a gourd full of wine, for each person, was abundantly sufficient for a joyousness that required attention to temperance.

I could not but take notice, with some degree of pleasure, as to the word *flagon*, used in our translation, after Dr. Chandler had led me to think of *gourds*, as what might be meant by the original, that I found upon consulting Lemery's account of the gourd,§ and particularly of the third species, that he tells us, "it is shaped like a bottle having a strait neck, and the belly large:" after which he adds, "they cultivate them in gardens; their fruit is good to eat, when properly prepared; they also use them for *flagons*, after having emptied them, and caused them to be dried." He uses that very French

* A chief Greek magistrate there. † Trav. in Greece, p. 207.

‡ Trav. in Asia Minor, p. 44.

‖ De Vitriaco describes them as larger than the head of an ass, Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 1099.

§ Dictionaire des Drogues, art. Cucurbita.

word from which our English word *flagons* is evidently derived.*

After this account, perhaps it may appear quite unnecessary to have recourse to the Chaldee sense of the original word אשישי *aheeshey*, used Isaiah xvi. 7, and there translated in our version *foundations*. It may probably as well be rendered *gourds* there, since the rest of the paragraph relates not so much to the ruinating strong places by war, as the destruction of the fruits of the earth by an unkindly season: "The fields of Heshbon languish, and the vine of Sibmah; therefore I will bewail with the weeping of Jazer, the vine of Sibmah: I will water thee with my tears, O Heshbon and Elealeh: for the shouting for thy summer fruits, and for thy harvest, is fallen, and gladness is taken away, and joy out of the plentiful field: and in the vineyards there shall be no singing, neither shall there be shouting: the treaders shall tread out no wine in their presses; I have made their vintage shouting to cease. Wherefore my bowels shall sound for Moab like a harp." After reading this I would ask, whether it be not as natural to read the seventh verse after this manner, "Every one shall howl: for the gourds of Kirhareseth shall ye mourn, surely they are stricken;" as to read, "for the foundadations of Kirhareseth shall ye mourn?" Gourds are mentioned by Dr. Russell, in his account of the food of the people of Aleppo, of various kinds, and among the rest the *cucurbita lagenaria*, or bottle like gourd,† and they might very probably be of still more importance in the days of antiquity, when several of the vegetables that are now used among them, and preferred to gourds, were unknown. Kirhareseth, is particularly mentioned, as being most famous for producing gourds, in the country of Moab, as Sibmah was for vines.

It may not be very much amiss to add, that the interpretation that supposes the donative of king David con-

* Flaccon. † Page 25.

sisted of flesh and wine, as well, as bread is not agreeable to the nature of the solemnity, in which so many sacrifices were slain, but was in other respects so natural, that, among the old Romans, when sums of money were left to celebrate their birth days, in after times, out of the profits arising from those legacies, it was by distributing among such and such people, meat, bread, and wine. An inscription, recording such a gift, is said to be at Spoleto.*

OBSERVATION X.

PRESENTS INTERCHANGED AMONG ROYAL PERSONAGES IN THE EAST.

King *Solomon*, it is said, 1 Kings x. 13, *gave unto the queen of Sheba all her desire, whatsoever she asked, besides that which Solomon gave her of his royal bounty: so she turned, and went to her own country.* This appears strange to us; but is perfectly agreeable to modern Eastern usages, which are allowed to be derived from remote antiquity.

A reciprocal giving and receiving royal gifts has nothing in it strange; but the supposition of the sacred historian, that this Arabian queen *asked* for some things she saw in the possession of king Solomon, is what surprises us. However, the practice is very common to this day in the East; it is not there looked upon as any degradation to dignity, or any mark of rapacious meanness.

Irwin's publication† affords many instances of such a custom, among very considerable people, both in Arabia and Egypt, though not equal in power to the queen that

* See a note of Lindebrogius, on act 1, scene i, of the Phormio of Terence, of the *Variorum* edition: where the particular words made use of to express the meat, the bread, and the wine, deserve the attention of the curious; *Epulum*, *crustum*, or *crustulum*, and *mulsum*.

† Voyage up the Red Sea, and Route through the Deserts of Thebais.

visited king Solomon. They demanded from time to time, such things as they saw, and which happened to please them: arms, vestments, &c. What the things were that so struck the queen of Sheba, as that she *asked* for them, and which Solomon did not before apprehend would be particularly pleasing to her, the sacred historian has not told us, nor can we pretend to guess.

Many other travellers have mentioned this custom, and shown that the great people of that country not only expect presents, but will directly, and without circumlocution, ask for what they have a mind to have, and expect that their requisitions should be readily complied with; while, with us, it would be looked on as extremely mean, and very degrading to an exalted character.

OBSERVATION XI.

GREAT MEN IN THE EAST, OFTEN TAKE FROM THEIR OFFICERS THOSE GIFTS WHICH THE LATTER RECEIVE FROM THE BOUNTY OF OTHERS.

THERE is a shameful meanness practised at this time in the East, which I suppose is of ancient date, and indeed referred to by the wise son of Sirach;* and that is, when those in a somewhat superior station seize on the gifts given to them that are below them, by persons of liberality, and appropriate to themselves the bounties given by others.

The words of the book of Ecclesiasticus are, *Be ashamed, to turn away thy face from thy kinsman, or to take away a portion or a gift.* The explanation of this particular of the list of those things that may justly cause shame, is contained, I think, in the following account of the Baron de Tott's passing the river Pruth, in his way to Tartary.

* Eccles. xli. 21.

He describes that stream as dangerous to pass; that his conductor, who was a *tchoadar*, or officer of a Turkish pasha, had, by the assistance of his whip, assembled three hundred Moldavians, and had employed them all night to form a raft of the branches of trees, for the passing over de Tott's carriage, which, at the risque of their lives, they effected; he then goes on,* "It may easily be imagined Ali Aga† was triumphant, and that I did not depart without giving some five or six guineas to the workmen; but what may not so readily be supposed, and what I had not foreseen myself, was, that my conductor, ever attentive to all my actions, and most trifling gestures, stayed some time behind to reckon with these unfortunate labourers, concerning the small salary they had received."

De Tott speaks of this as a piece of meanness he had no conception of; the son of Sirach teaches us, that the taking away of a gift, bestowed on those in lower life, is a piece of conduct of which men may and ought to be ashamed: and I believe every soul that reads this article, will allow they both are in the right.

It would certainly have been equally wrong, and to be ashamed of, had the Baron given them provisions instead of money, if Ali Aga had taken away any man's portion, or abridged it contrary to the design of de Tott. Such would have been the light in which Melzar's management would have been to be viewed, had it taken its rise from avarice, and not from the desire of the parties concerned themselves, when he took away the portion of royal meat, and the portion of wine, which Nebuchadnezzar had ordered to be given to Daniel and his companions, and gave them pulse to eat, instead of meat from the royal table, and water to drink instead of wine, of which we read Dan. i. 8—16.

* Tome 2, p. 14, &c. † The name of the tchoadar, his conductor.

OBSERVATION XII.

PEOPLE IN THE EAST USE MUSIC MORE FREQUENTLY, AND ON MORE ORDINARY OCCASIONS, THAN THOSE IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

Music is by no means unknown in our country; but as in other respects the inhabitants of the East discover more vivacity, so they use music in more cases than we are wont to; and this remark may serve to explain the ground of some ancient customs.

When Dr. Chandler was at Aiasaluck, a place that has been often taken for the ancient Ephesus, and which certainly is very near it, they employed a couple of Greek peasants to pile up stones, to serve as a ladder against a place they wanted to examine, and having occasion for another after that, to dig; and sending for one to the Stadium, under the ruins of which many of them dwelt, "the whole tribe, ten or twelve, followed; one playing all the way before them on a rude lyre, and at times striking the sounding board with the fingers of the left hand, in concert with the strings. One of them had on a pair of sandals of goat skins, laced with thongs. After gratifying their curiosity, they returned back as they came, with their musician in front."*

If a common march to satisfy curiosity, is among this lively people preceded by music, it can be no wonder to find the Jews, when they went up with solemnity to the house of God, were wont to have music playing before them, though we find no command for it among the constitutions of the Mosaic law: *Ye shall have a song as in the night, when a holy solemnity is kept; and gladness of heart, as when one goeth with a pipe to come into the mountain of the* Lord.† The 42d Psalm, ver. 4, perhaps means the same thing. Dr. Chandler, describing else-

* Travels in Asia Minor, p. 130. † Is. xxx. 29.

where* a prospect, that occurred to him in the neighbourhood of Smyrna, does it in these terms; "We saw on the beach many camels laden, or standing by their burthens; and met on the road some bostangees, and travellers from Arabia and other Eastern countries, going to or returning from Constantinople. The hills were enlivened by flocks of sheep and goats; and resounded with the rude music of the lyre and of the pipe, the former a stringed instrument resembling a guittar, and held much in the same manner, but usually played on with a bow. And when afterward he was confined to a country house, in the neighbourhood of Smyrna, on account of the raging plague there, he tells us, that some of the flock or herd, belonging to a goat stand on the top of a hill near him, were often by the fountain below with their keeper, who played on a rude flute or pipe.†

This frequent use of music among the lowest ranks, and while attending the meanest employments, may put us in mind of David's playing on the harp, when he kept his father's sheep, 1 Sam. xvi. 16—19, which he was often heard to do; and some other passages of Scripture.

The songs that were expected from the Israelites,‡ by the waters of Babylon, possibly may signify that they were set in their captivity to keep cattle, and that it was expected that they should sing as in their own country; and when we recollect what Job said, chap. xxx. 1, *Now they that are younger than I, have me in derision, whose fathers I would have disdained to have set with the dogs of my flock*, it appears that this was looked upon as one of the meanest stations in life: no wonder then that captives should be employed in it; but the anguish of their souls, for the destruction of their country, would not admit of their using their harps. All was hushed in a sad dreary

* Page 75. † Page 273.

‡ Ps. cxxxvii. But this Psalm may be understood in another view, which is both more natural, I think, and throws a greater energy into the description.

silence, hanging their harps on the trees near them, as the shepherds among whom Chandler slept,* did their utensils, when not in use: of which I have given an account elsewhere. So the Israelites hanged their instruments of music on the trees under which they sat, watching the flocks and herds of those that had carried them away captives, unable in their state of overwhelming grief, to make use of them. Their imperious masters resented it, and required them to conceal their sorrows.

The songs the ancient Jewish shepherds sung, were of the religious kind, and their heathen conquerors might be apprized of it. Probably their songs, in common life, were often in honor of their deities, as well as in their temples.

OBSERVATION XIII.

OF THE WOODEN LIGHTS, OR SPLINTERS, MADE OF RESINOUS WOOD, USED IN CERTAIN COUNTRIES.

LARGE splinters of wood, either of a resinous nature in themselves, or perhaps prepared in some cases by art, are made use of in the Levant instead of flambeaux; and if they are in use in these times, in which great improvements have been made in all the arts of life, it is natural to suppose they were in use anciently, particularly among the peasants, shepherds, and travellers of the lower class.†

So Dr. Richard Chandler found lighted brands made use of in Asia Minor, by some villagers, instead of

* Travels in Asia Minor, p. 157.

† This is frequently done in Ireland. Large fir blocks are frequently found deeply buried in their bogs, and which have lain there perhaps from the remotest antiquity; these, when dug up, and rended like laths and dried, become through their resinous nature, an excellent substitute for candles, and are thus used by multitudes of the common people, especially in the province of Ulster. EDIT.

torches,* and he refers to Virgil,† representing the Roman peasants as preparing, in his days, the same sort of flambeaux, in winter time, for their use.

If they still continue in use in the East, there is reason to believe they were used anciently, and, indeed, it seems to be a torch of this kind, that is meant by the Hebrew word לפיד *lappeed*, which our translators sometimes render firebrand, sometimes lamp, thus confounding things that are very distinct, and which are expressed by different words.

If the peasants, and those that were abroad in the night and wanted light, made use of this kind of torches, it can be no wonder that Gideon should be able, with so much ease, to procure three hundred of them, for the three hundred men that he retained with him; or that they should continue burning some considerable time in their pitchers, and blaze with sufficient strength to terrify the Midianites, when those ancient, and perhaps first invented dark lanterns‡ were broken, and these flambeaux appeared with a considerable strong light, and being such as soldiers encamped were wont to use, as well as other people whose business led them to be abroad in the night.

I would remark further, that as this word is made use of, Exod. xx. 18, and a very different word is used to express lightning in the Hebrew, it is unfortunate that our version should render it lightning there, when it is to be understood, I apprehend, of the flaming of the trees on Mount Sinai, on that memorable occasion, whole trees flaming around the Divine presence, bearing some resemblance to the torches made of splinters of wood, which were made use of on less august occasions: "All the people saw the thunderings, and the trees flaming like so many torches, and the noise of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking; and when the people saw it, they removed and stood afar off."

* Page 115. † Georg. lib. 1, l. 292.

‡ If our translation be accurate: which may very well be doubted.

Lightning is understood here without doubt, and that the trees were set on fire by the lightning will hardly be contested; on the other hand, if the word directly meant lightning, still it is evidently supposed the trees and shrubs were fired by it, from whence else would have come the smoke? But as the word signifies torches, not flashes of lightning, it should not have been translated here lightning, differently from what it properly signifies. Agreeable to this account is the description given us, Exod. xix. 18, *And mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the* LORD *descended upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly.*

According to Egmont and Heyman, a tree in some measure resembling the tamarisk, which produces a very oily fruit, and from which a celebrated oil is expressed, grows in great quantities on Mount Sinai:* whether they were trees of this kind that blazed with such awful pomp when the law was given, or any other, may be left to the curious to inquire.

OBSERVATION XIV.

ANCIENT AND MODERN IDOLATERS OFTEN CUT THEMSELVES IN THEIR ACTS OF WORSHIP.

I HAVE, in a former part of this work, taken notice of the cutting themselves, which the prophets of Baal practised, in order to obtain from him, in a trying season, an answer to their prayers; the cutting themselves, that the Israelites made use of in a time of affliction, and when they bewailed the dead; and the modern Arab way of testifying their extreme affection for those they profess to love :†

* Vol. 2, p. 169.

† The Hindoos often cut themselves with large instruments, that they may offer their blood to the goddess *Cali*; and the larger the instrument

but I would beg leave to add a query here, by way of supplement to that article, whether we may not very naturally suppose the wounds in his hands, which Zechariah supposes* the false prophet had, are not to be illustrated by the first of the above mentioned usages?

Zechariah there represents a false prophet as disclaiming that character, not only for the future, but as not having previously belonged to him. When therefore he was reproached, according to that representation, with having, in preceding times, officiated as a prophet to some idol, after laying aside the distinctive dress that pointed out the prophetic character, he is supposed to say, he never was such an one, but had been always a plain, unlearned, unsagacious husbandman or herdsman: and when asked what those wounds then were, whose scars at least remained in his hands, such as the idolatrous prophets were wont to inflict on their hands, when they could not obtain any answer to those anxious inquiries they made in a time of perplexity,† by any of those modes of divination they had used, may we not with great probability suppose, that Zechariah represents him as endeavouring to elude this most suspicious circumstance, by saying these were wounds that he gave himself when mourning the death of a friend whom he dearly loved, or testifying his affection for some young female, of a family with which he desired to establish the most endearing friendship, by making affinity with it?

Such an interpretation appears to me much more natural, than the supposition of some of the learned, who im-

is with which the incision is made, the more meritorious they deem the offering. They often also place a burning wick on their flesh, in honor of the same deity, and endeavour to appease her wrath by *human* sacrifices. EDIT.

* Ch. xiii. 6.

† When the Israelites were forbidden to cut themselves, Deut. xiv. 1, it might be to teach them to look up to JEHOVAH as the GOD that would hear their supplications, if proper to be granted, without such expressions of violent emotion.

agine these wounds are to be understood of those marks idolaters often received on their hands, as well as other parts of their bodies, in token of their belonging to such or such an idol; and that the false prophet would, in such a case as is here foretold, pretend it was the innocent mark that had been imprinted upon him by his master, when he became his slave, whose ground he had been wont to plough, or whose herds he had fed. For the distinction must have been visible to every eye, whatever the mark should be imagined to be: the distinction between the mark of a heathen deity, and that of a wealthy Israelite, used for the mere purposes of civil life.* Not to say that the mark of an idol was not appropriated to his prophets; but was imprinted on his common worshippers; and it is not to be supposed, that after a time of general defection to idolatry, every one that had been seduced into idol worship would have been in danger of his life. And, indeed, it evidently appears, that Zechariah is speaking of them that had prophesied in the name of an idol, and that he mentions them only.

OBSERVATION XV.

ALL ANCIENT PROPHETS AND PRIESTS LIVED WHOLLY SECLUDED FROM SECULAR LIFE.

It may not be amiss to add, in this next article, that it seems, from that part of his defence, that Zechariah supposes the false prophet would make use of, to clear himself from the charge of having been the prophet of an idol, *I am no prophet, I am a husbandman ;† for man taught*

* If the Jews did mark their servants as some nations did, which is much to be questioned.

† This subterfuge was the most natural that such an one could make use of, as the Prophets and pretended prophets were wont to wear the coarse and homely dress of those brought up to country business.

*me to keep cattle from my youth,** that the prophets of idols, as well as those of Jehovah, lived a life of abstraction from civil employments, and wholly spent their time in the service of the idol, in some way or other, which it may be natural for us to be a little inquisitive about.

The Prophets of God were wont to live in society,† and to be trained up, from early life, in such a way as was supposed to invite the influences of the prophetic spirit. Retirement from the world, reading, meditation, prayer, and singing the divine praises, which last was itself honored with the name of prohesying, as well as the foretelling future events.‡

Accordingly the false prophet's exculpation of himself, "I am no prophet, I am a husbandman, and taught to keep cattle from my youth," reminds us of the account Amos gives of himself. *The words of Amos, who was among the herdmen of Tekoah*, ch. I. 1. Again, *Then answered Amos, and said to Amaziah, I was no prophet, neither was I a Prophet's son; but I was a herdman, and a gatherer of sycamore fruit, and the* Lord *took me, as I followed the flock; the* Lord *said to me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel.* Ch. vii. 14, 15. He was not one that had lived to forty or fifty years of age this consecrated sort of life, when he was sent with the messages of Jehovah to Israel; nor had even his youth been spent among the sons of the Prophets, but he was very unexpectedly taken from among the herdmen of Tekoah, and made a messenger of God to Israel.

Now, had not the idol prophets lived in something of the same manner, the allegation of the false prophet, that he had been a husbandman or a herdman from his youth, would have been absolutely impertinent.

Accordingly we find, 1 Kings xviii. 19, that the prophets of the groves eat together at Jezebel's table; perhaps

* Zech. xiii. 5. † 1 Sam. xix. 20—24.

‡ See 1 Chron. xxv. 1, 2, 3; 1 Sam. x. 5, 6.

those of Baal too: for the words of the sacred historian may be so understood, though that is not necessarily the sense of this passage. *Now therefore send, and gather to me all Israel unto Mount Carmel, and the prophets of Baal four hundred and fifty, and the prophets of the groves four hundred, which eat at Jezebel's table.*

We are not, I apprehend, to suppose that these eight hundred and fifty prophets, or even the four hundred of the groves, eat at the royal table, where Jezebel herself took her refection; for though, I am sensible, it is not unusual in the East for servants to eat at the same table where their masters have eaten, after their masters have done; and that several hundreds eat in the palaces of the Eastern princes; yet it could never be thought necessary by Jezebel to have four hundred chaplains in waiting at once at court. I should think the words mean, that these four hundred prophets of the groves fed daily at a common table, in or near the temple of that idol which they served, and which was provided for at the expense of Jezebel living there in a kind of collegiate way, as the Prophets of JEHOVAH appear to have done.

Their business was, I suppose, to sing the praises of the idols they worshipped; and to watch from time to time in their temples, under the pretence of receiving oracular answers to the inquiries of those that came to consult them;* and, it may be, to teach the worshippers in what form of words to address the deity they served.

OBSERVATION XVI.

IN THE EAST, THE WASHING OF CLOTHES IS PERFORMED IN THE MOST PUBLIC MANNER.

THE washing foul linen, among us, is performed in the proper apartments of private houses; but in the East,

* 2 Kings i. 2.

where the women are, in common, kept very close, it is performed in public view, by the sides of rivers and fountains.*

This may seem very strange, when we reflect on the great solicitude of many of the Eastern people to keep their women concealed; and recollect the privacy with which this female service is performed among us, in a country where the women appear abroad as frequently as the men.

Dr. Chandler, however, in his Travels in Asia Minor, mentions this Eastern custom, and frequently observed it. "The women," says the Doctor, "resort to the fountains by the houses, each with a large two handled earthern jar on her back, or thrown over her shoulder for water. They assemble at a fountain without the village or town, if no river be near, to wash their linen, which is afterward spread on the ground or bushes to dry."† He elsewhere speaks of his having seen them performing this service. "Near the mouth of the river was lively verdure," speaking of the bed which received the Scamander and Simois united, "with trees, and on the same side as Sigeum, the castle, and Chomkali; above which, by the water, were many women, their faces muffled, washing linen, or spreading it to dry, with children playing on the banks.‡ And of another river on the same side of the Hellespont, he says, "the bed was wide, stony, and intersected with green thicket, but had water in the cavities,‖ at which many women with their faces muffled, were busy washing linen and spreading it on the ground to dry."§

May not this observation serve to confirm the conjecture, that the young woman that was sent to En-rogel,¶ with a message of great importance to the safety of king

* This is a very frequent custom both in Ireland and Scotland. EDIT.

† Page 21. ‡ Page 40.

‖ Εν βοθροιπι is the word Homer makes use of. § Page 13.

¶ 2 Sam. xvii. 17.

David, which she was to deliver to the two young priests that were stationed there, in some place of concealment, went out of the city, with a bundle of linen, as if she was going to wash it: since nothing was more natural, if it was a place used for that purpose, or better calculated to elude jealousy and apprehension, on the one hand; and since we can hardly otherwise account for the sending such a person, on the other, or at least for its being recorded with such distinctness.

The only difficulty, attending this representation, seems to be, the number of females wont to assemble together at such places, for Dr. Chandler speaks of them as very numerous; but if we suppose that they did not assemble together in troops in the city, but only gather together at the places of washing, the sending her rather earlier than usual, might be sufficient to answer the purpose.

But if what Chandler has said, of this Eastern practice, illustrates no passage of Scripture, it certainly shows that the practice of the Greeks, so long ago as the time of Homer,* and earlier, still continues among their descendants.

OBSERVATION XVII.

OF THE PECULIARLY SIGNIFICANT NAMES GIVEN TO WOMEN IN THE EAST.

THE *names* the Eastern people give to women and to slaves, appear to us to be oftentimes not a little odd; something of the same kind may however be remarked in the Scriptures, though they are there more frequently of the devout kind. A little collection of examples may not be disagreeable.

* Odyss. 6.

The author of the History of Ali Bey mentions a female, whose name لعل *laal* signified ruby.* One of the wives of Elkanah, the father of the prophet Samuel, seems to have been named in the same way, for such, I presume, was the meaning of the word פנינה *Peninnah*.† It is somewhat remarkable, that this name is left out of that catalogue of ancient names given in some of our old Bibles. The plural word *peninim* signifies *rubies*, or precious stones that are red, as is evident from the Lamentations of Jeremiah, ch. iv. 7, though some of the Jewish virtuosi suppose pearls are meant, and *penninah* seems to be the singular of the word *peninim*, with a feminine termination. If both these ladies were called by names that in their respective languages, signified a ruby, probably both one and the other were so denominated, either from the floridness of their complexion, or the contrary to a ruby teint: for it may be understood either way.

It not being unusual, with the Oriental nations, to go by the rule of contraries in giving people names. Thus d'Herbelot informs us, that camphor, which is a very white and odoriferous gum or resin, is one of those names which are wont to given to negroes or blacks in the East; and *jasmin* and *narcissus*, which are known to be remarkable for their whiteness, are names applied to the same sable-coloured slaves.‡

Possibly Rachel might have that name put upon her, which signifies a *sheep*, not from the mildness of her temper, but the reverse. What she said to Jacob, before she had children, while her sister had several, Gen. xxx. 1, by no means invalidates such a supposition.

* Page 70. † 1 Sam. i. 2. ‡ Biblioth. Orient. art. Casur.

OBSERVATION XVIII.

CURIOUS METHOD OF APPLYING THE TERMS FATHER AND MOTHER, TO THINGS ANIMATE AND INANIMATE, IN THE EAST.

I HAVE in another volume taken notice, that it is a common thing among the people of the East, to denominate a man the father of a thing for which he is remarkable; but here I would say, not only that collection of examples might be enlarged,* but that people and places may, in like manner, be called the *mother* of such and such a thing for which they are noted.

So Niebuhr tells us the Arabs call a woman that sells butter, *omm es sübbet*, the mother of butter. Thus also he tells us, in the same page, that there is a place between Basra and Zobier, where an ass happened to fall down, and throw the wheat with which the creature was

* It certainly might be enlarged: thus we find that one of the Beys of Egypt, mentioned in the History of the Revolt of Ali Bey, was called Abudahap, which signifies *father of gold*, on the account of his avaricious temper, p. 81. See also this name given him in a firman of the Grand Signior himself, which is published by Major Rooke, in his Travels to the coast of Arabia Felix, p. 218, which being a paper of State makes this appellation very remarkable. In like manner a pasha of Bagdad, who generally went out in the night in his expeditions against the wild Arabs, in which he was very successful, was called, Niebuhr tells us, in the 2d. vol. of his Travels into Arabia and adjacent countries, p. 258, Abu el Leyl, that is, *father of the night*, but by the people of Bagdad the *lion*. In like manner the same author tells us, in his first volume of those travels, that one of the beys of Egypt, of his time, was called Abu Seif, that is, he tells us, *he that knew how to handle the scimetar*; but if literally translated, I would observe, signifies father of the scimetar, p. 110. And again, in p. 280, of the same work, he observes, that the Arabs call the tree that produces the Mecca balsam, *abu scham*, that is, he says, the odoriferous tree, but literally translated it signifies the *father of fragrance*, or odoriferousness; and, in like manner, in p. 263, of that volume, he informs us, that the Arabs call Abu Schanârib, *father of the mustachio*, a man that has large mustachios: and Abu Hamâr, he that is the *proprietor of an ass*; but this last only, I should imagine, in some particular circumstances.

loaded into some water there, on which account that place is called to this day the *Mother of Wheat*.*

In like manner, in the Bibliotheque Orientale of d'Herbelot, Omm Alketab, or the *mother of books*, signifies the book of the divine decrees; and at other times the first chapter of the Koran. The *mother of the throat* is the name of an imaginary being, a fairy, who is supposed to bring on and to cure that disorder in the throat which we call the quinsy.† So in the same collection we are told, that the acacia, or Egyptian thorn, is called by the Arabians the *mother of satyrs*, it seems, because those imaginary inhabitants of the forests and deserts were supposed to haunt under them.‡

After this we shall not at all wonder, when we read in the writings of the prophet Ezekiel,‖ of Nebuchadnezzer's standing at the *Mother of the Way*, a remarkable place in the road, where he was to determine, whether he would go to Jerusalem, or to some other place, one branch of the road pointing to Jerusalem, the other leading to a different town.§

OBSERVATION XIX.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE UPUPA, OR LAPWING.

It is very astonishing, that the Hebrew word דוכ *soos*, which our translators so readily supposed meant a *crane*, should not be translated at all by the Septuagint, or in the

* Voy. en Arabie, et en d'autres Pays circonvoisins, tome 1, p. 263.

† Page 686. ‡ Page 358.

‖ Ch. xxi. 21, according to the marginal translation of the Hebrew.

§ But the most remarkable use of the term *mother*, in d'Herbelot, is, I think, in the article Omm Moeri, which seems to signify the *mother of the reader*, and was the sirname of a celebrated Mohammedan male saint, who, according to the article Moeri, particularly professed the art of teaching people to read the Koran.

other ancient Greek versions, so far as appears in the collections of Lambert Bos. I have, in a preceding Observation, given an account of several migratory birds that appeared from time to time in Judea, to which it may not be improper to add a passage in Ovid's *Fasti*, with which I have been particularly struck, and on which I wish to communicate a few observations to my readers, leaving it to them to determine, whether that Hebrew word may not, very probably, mean the *upupa*, to use a Latin name, or the hoop or the hoopoe,* as English writers call it.

The passage in the Fasti is that in which he describes the lamentation of Ceres, when she lost her daughter, and filled the world with her moans, which he compares to the mournful noise made by this bird.

> "Quacunque ingreditur, miseris loca cuncta querelis
> Implet; ut amissum cum gemit *ales* Ityn."
> Lib. iv. 481, 482.

Here it is supposed that the noise made by Tereus, after he was imagined to have been turned into this bird, and to have lamented his son Itys with bitter anguish, is extremely mournful, since the vehement lamentations of Ceres are compared to this bird's noise, which is said to be *pupu*, and supposed to have been the occasion of its being called upupa.

I would next remark, that, according to Dr. Russell, it appears in the country about Aleppo,† which is known very much to resemble Judea in its climate and productions.

Further, it is a migratory bird in those countries about Aleppo, according to Russell, who says, "the hoopoe, upupa, and bee eater come in the spring, and remain all the summer and autumn." It might then be one of the birds Jeremiah was speaking of, ch. viii. 7, being migra-

* Ray calls it the hoopoe, in his Syn. Avium.

† Descript. of Aleppo, vol. ii. p. 198.

tory as well as the *crane;* and as likely to be meant by Hezekiah* as the *crane*, since its mournful noise is so remarkable, as to be chosen by Ovid to express the lamentations of Ceres.

Lastly, It must be difficult, to find out any resemblance between a *horse*, which the Hebrew word indisputably signifies, and a *crane*, which it is also by moderns supposed to mean; but no great difficulty of finding a likeness between this bird, and some sort of bird it undoubtedly means, from what Jeremiah says about it, and a horse, if we recollect an Observation in a former part of this work, which gives an account of its being customary for both men and horses to have their heads adorned with feathers.† For this is Dr. Berkenhout's description of the hoopoe: "Crest orange, tipt with black, two inches long," &c. How beautiful this plume! somewhat resembling those worn by princes and their courtiers, and also their horses! consisting, other writers tell us, of many feathers, and very long, considering the size of the bird, which is but little larger than a quail.

But if this is not the bird Hezekiah actually meant, it must be allowed it might, without impropriety, have been referred to on that occasion, the noise it makes is mournful. At the same time it observes the due time for returning, from the places to which it withdraws itself when it migrates.

It is a bird also remarkable for its filthiness, said to live on excrements, to make its nest of human dung, and to be fond of graves,‡ circumstances that do not make this bird less proper to be referred to, when the moans of a sick chamber are described.

* Isaiah xxxviii. 14.

† The horses in the East are frequently adorned with tufts of feathers on the top of the head. EDIT.

‡ Com. Hieronymi in Zach. cap. 5. Lemery, a modern writer not ill versed in natural history, has given a like account. Dict. des Drogues, art. Upupa.

OBSERVATION XX.

CURIOUS OBSERVATIONS ON WEAVING, IN ILLUSTRATION OF A PASSAGE OF ISAIAH, CHAP. XXXVIII. 12.

HEZEKIAH makes use of another simile, in that hymn of his which Isaiah has preserved, and which simile appeared, many years ago, very perplexing to a gentleman of good sense and learning, who resided in one of the most noted towns of the kingdom for weaving. He could not conceive, why the cutting short the life of that prince, should be compared to a weaver's cutting off a piece from his loom when he had finished it, and he and every body that saw it in that state expected it as a thing of course. He consulted those that were acquainted with the manufactory, but could gain no satisfaction.

Perhaps it may appear more easy to the mind, if the simile is understood to refer to the weaving of a carpet, filled with flowers and other ingenious devices: just as a weaver, after having wrought many decorations into a piece of carpeting, suddenly cuts it off, while the figures were rising into view as fresh and as beautiful as ever, and the spectator is expecting the weaver would proceed in his work; so, after a variety of pleasing and amusing transactions in the course of my life, suddenly and unexpectedly it seemed to me that it was come to its period, and was just going to be cut off. Unexpectedness must certainly be intended here.

It is certain that now the Eastern people not only employed themselves in rich embroideries, but in making carpets filled with flowers and other pleasing figures. Dr. Shaw gives us an account of the last,* as other travellers do of the first. "Carpets, which are much coarser than those from Turkey, are made here in great numbers,

* Trav. p. 224.

and of all sizes.* But the chief branch of their manufactories is, the making of *hykes*, or blankets, as we should call them. The women alone are employed in this work, as Andromache and Penelope were of old, who do not use the shuttle, but conduct every thread of the woof with their fingers."

If shuttles are not now used in the manufacturing of hykes, can we suppose they were in use in the time of Job? Yet our translators suppose this: "My days are swifter than a weaver's shuttle, and are spent without hope."† Whereas the original only says, *my days are swifter than a weaver.*‡

I would add, that I can hardly imagine our present Hebrew copies are exact, which use a term that signifies *I have cut off:* the Septuagint do not seem to have read it so; and a very little alteration, and a very probable one, would make it, *thou hast cut off*, referring to God.

Perhaps it may be thought, that it is hardly probable that weaving ornamented carpets, though now so common in the East, was then practised there; but it should be remembered, that skill to perform the works of the weaver is mentioned, in the same passage, with those of the engraver and the embroiderer, which were then practised in a considerable degree of perfection: *Them hath he, God, filled with wisdom of heart, to work all manner of work, of the engraver, and of the cunning workman, and of the embroiderer, in blue and in purple, in scarlet, and in fine linen, and of the weaver, even of them that do any work, and of those that devise cunning work.* Exod. xxxv. 35.

Plain or simple weaving could never be meant here: it was in use before the time of Moses. For we read that

* If of such different sizes, they might sometimes be cut off very unexpectedly. † Ch. vii. 6.

‡ The motion of whose fingers must have been exceeding quick, when no shuttle was used; it might be as quick as most motions the Temanites were familiarly acquainted with.

Joseph was arrayed in fine linen, when he was made viceroy of Egypt; that more refined skill in weaving seems to refer, to the working pleasing figures into the web. The hangings of the court of the Tabernacle, probably, are to be understood not to have been simple linen cloth, but cloth diapered, or wrought in pleasing figures of some such a kind, Exod. xxvii. 9. The curtains of the sacred tent itself were to be of fine linen, intermingled with blue, purple, and scarlet, wrought into the figure of cherubs with great art, Exod. xxvi. 1. From which the veil hanging over the door, certainly designed to be richer than the preceding, if there was any distinction between them, is described as formed of the same materials, but the figures made of מעשה רקם *maaseh rokem*, needle work, verse 36, a very different word from מעשה חשב *maaseh chosheb*, used in the first verse, which is a general term used to point out some new ingenious invention in any art,* and consequently may as well relate to the art of weaving as any other.

So I find R. Solomon, and Aben Esra, understood the word, in the first verse, to refer to weaving those figures in the curtains of the tabernacle, but on different grounds, I believe, from that I have proposed, namely, the authority of their old writers.† I deduce it, from the wonted superior richness of the veil of the door way to the other hangings of an apartment.

It may not be amiss to add, that the word which we translate to weave, signifies interweaving any slender substances together, in such a manner as to make any firm texture, and therefore expresses the making wicker work, ארג, *arag*, is used in the sense of making wicker work, Is. xix. 9, where our translators render it, "they that weave net work," and in the margin, "white work." Certainly fish may be catched by wicker work as well as by nets, and something of that kind appears in the Prænestine

* 2 Chron. xxvi. 15.

† Vide Buxtorfi Epit. Rad. Hebr. p. 308.

Mosaic pavement which Dr. Shaw has given us. Reeds, he observes,* are now commonly made use of; those toils Isaiah speaks of, might be described as made of wicker work, which was white from the peeling the twigs made use of, probably to mark out the frequent magnificence of the Egyptians of that time, in their fishing. For the same reason he speaks of their using flax, of different colours, for that is supposed to be the meaning of the words translated fine flax, and which must be imagined to have been for pomp and splendor, more than use.

After all, the needle work of the Scriptures might sometimes differ very much from what we call embroidery: it is certain that the Persians, if we may believe Sir John Chardin, have a kind of needle work very different. The account he gives of it, in short, is as follows: "Their tailors certainly excel ours in their sewing. They make carpets, cushions, veils for doors, and other pieces of furniture of felt, in Mosaic work, which represents just what they please. This is done, so neatly, that a man might suppose the figures were painted, instead of being a kind of inlaid work. Look as close as you will, the joinings cannot be seen."†

This Persian kind of needle work somewhat resembles our old tapestry, which, instead of being woven, was made of many pieces of different colours sewed together, but by no means joined together with Persian dexterity. Whether the needle work on both sides, which the mother of Sisera supposed‡ would become a prey to her son, was needle work of this kind, the curious may consider: certainly we should never think of describing our common embroidery, by its beauty on both sides.

If this account of the sudden, and to a bystander, unexpected cutting off his work by the weaver of a carpet, or some such curious kind of workmanship, should not be admitted; yet Niebuhr will be allowed, I presume,

* Page 524, 4to edit. † Voy. tom. 2, p. 85. ‡ Judges v.

to have clearly illustrated what is said concerning a shepherd's tent in the same verse.

For in his description of Arabia, he mentions a circumstance relating to the Bedouin Arabs, which is very amusing to the imagination, and serves to give great energy to that other simile made use of by Hezekiah, in the hymn he is supposed to have composed, relating to his dangerous illness and subsequent recovery.*

"In the well watered parts of the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris, there are still several tribes who support themselves by their horses, their buffaloes, their cows, and by agriculture, occupations that the Arabs of the more noble families judge below them to follow. The principal tribes are named *Ahhl el Abaar*, the others *Moœdân*. These Moœdân tribes are of a middle rank, between true Arabs and peasants. They remove their pitiful habitations from country to country, according as they want lands to till, or pasturage; it is for this reason we sometimes find whole villages, in a place where, the day before, there was not a single hut."†

The opposite to this is what Hezekiah refers to: he felt just such sensations as a man would do, that saw a large encampment of Arabs, surrounded with people, and flocks and herds, one day; and the next, nothing but an uninhabited desert.

Mine age, דורי *doree*, or, as others translate it, *my habitation*, or, perhaps, the word may rather signify, the *people of my generation*, the people about me, and with whom I have been connected, are gone, and disappear from my eyes; I am just in the situation of one that saw, a few days ago, the tent of an Arab sheikh, surrounded by a multitude of tents or huts of his attendants, with flocks and herds, but who, on a sudden and very unexpectedly, decamping with all his people and possessions, leaves a dreary solitude behind him. Thus, instead of a long train of officers and attendants, marching in great

* Is. xxxviii. 12. † Page 336.

pomp about Hezekiah, and crowds of people paying him royal honors as he passed along; all was reduced to the solitude of a sick chamber, which, though occupied by royalty, could admit only a very few unceremonious attendants, waiting upon him with great silence, on account of the extremity of his illness. My company about me is dispersed, and silence surrounds me, so that I am like a lonely place in the desert, where a little before the tent of an Arab sheikh was pitched, surrounded by his people and cattle. Such, I apprehend, is the lively meaning of Hezekiah.

OBSERVATION XXI.

COPIOUS FALLS OF RAIN IN THE EAST, CONSIDERED AS EXTRAORDINARY BLESSINGS.

Though it should be admitted, that the 12th chapter of Isaiah was not composed as a hymn of thanksgiving, for the deliverance of Israel, on some particular occasion, from the hands of their enemies, by means of a copious fall of rain that filled their exhausted reservoirs of water, by which means they were enabled to hold out, and their enemies were obliged to give over besieging them, and to retire with disgrace; yet it must, I think, be allowed, that, under that image, the copious pouring out of the influences of the Spirit of God on men, at the coming of the Messiah, is sketched out, and it seems requisite to attend to this representation, in order to enter into all the energy and spirit of this passage of the Prophet.

We meet with such events sometimes in history, and among the Jews too. So Josephus informs us, "that the rain which fell, in one night, was so abundant as soon to fill the cisterns at Massada, where some hundreds of the partisans of Herod were besieged, who by that means

were enabled to maintain their post, though they were before just ready to quit it for want of water."*

With what joy must these Herodians have drawn water out of their wells and cisterns, in the morning after this copious rain, the prelude of others soon to follow! for it seems to have been the first rain, at least of any consideration, that had fallen that autumn. They might, without impropriety, call them the *wells of salvation*, for they were the means, through the interposition of Providence, of saving them out of the hands of their enemies. Jonathan, the son of king Saul, is said to have wrought a great salvation for Israel, 1 Sam. xiv. 45 : and as he was the instrument made use of by God to effect that salvation; so the wells, or cisterns, of Massada, were the instruments that effected the salvation of the adherents of Herod at that time.

I do not however suppose this 12th of Isaiah was composed originally by the Prophet, with the design of celebrating an event of his time, similar to that at Massada : for he begins it with these words, *And in that day thou shalt say*, plainly referring to the preceding chapter, which relates to the times of the Messiah. But he makes use of the description of a thanksgiving for such deliverance, to point out the consolatory effects of the pouring out the instructions of the spirit of inspiration in the time of the Messiah, in the most copious manner, after a long suspension of that mercy, under which numbers of them, we may reasonably suppose, were ready to sink, and to desert the cause in which they had been engaged, since we find, that even at the time the lxxxixth Psalm was composed, they began *to reproach the slowness of the footsteps of* God's *anointed*.† The describing then the joy for receiving these influences, which are so often com-

* Antiq. lib. 14, cap. 14, sect. 6, p. 728, edit. Hav. This rain must have been very copious, and may serve to confirm an Observation in a former volume, relating to the very heavy rains that fall in the East in the night.

† See verse 50, 51.

pared in holy writ to water, and to rain in particular, by the rejoicing of those that were delivered from a very painful, and even distressing situation, by the sudden filling their reservoirs by plentiful showers, was an image natural enough, and certainly very lively, and as such made use of by the Prophet.

OBSERVATION XXII.

OF THE EFFECTS PRODUCED ON THE COLOUR OF THE BODY BY HUNGER.

I LEAVE it to physicians and naturalists to determine, with minute exactness, what effect extreme hunger produces on the body, particularly as to *colour*. It is sufficient for me to remark, that the modern inhabitants of the East suppose it occasions an approach to *blackness*, as the ancient Jews also did.

Her Nazarites, says the Prophet, complaining of the dreadful want of food, just before Jerusalem was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, *her Nazarites were purer than snow, they were whiter than milk, they were more ruddy in body than rubies, their polishing was of sapphire. Their visage is blacker than a coal: they are not known in the streets: their skin cleaveth to their bones; it is withered, it is become like a stick.* Lam. iv. 7, 8.

The like is said, ch. v. 10. *Our skin was* black *like an oven, because of the terrible famine.*

The same representation of its effects still obtains in those countries. So Sir John Chardin tells us,* that the common people of Persia, to express the sufferings of Hossein, a grandson of their prophet Mohammed, and one of their most illustrious saints, who fled into the deserts before his victorious enemies, that pursued him ten days

* Voy. tome 3, p. 173; and see the concluding Observations of vol. iii. p. 41, of *this* work.

together, and at length overtook him, ready to die with heat, thirst, and fatigue, and slew him with a multitude of wounds, in memory of which they annually observe ten days with great solemnity; I say, he tells us, that the common people then, to express what he suffered, "appear entirely naked, excepting the parts modesty requires to be covered, and *blackened* all over; while others are stained with blood; others run about the streets, beating two flint stones against each other, their tongues hanging out of their mouths like people quite exhausted, and behaving like persons in despair, crying with all their might, Hossein, &c. Those that coloured themselves *black*, intended to represent the extremity of thirst and heat which Hossein had suffered, which was so great they say, *that he turned black*, and his tongue swelled out of his mouth. Those that were covered with *blood*, intended to represent his being so terribly wounded, as that all his blood had issued from his veins before he died."

Here we see thirst, want of food, and fatigue, are supposed to make a human body look black. They are now supposed to do so; as they were supposed anciently to have that effect.

OBSERVATION XXIII.

CURIOUS ILLUSTRATION OF EZRA iv. 14.

ODD speculations have been founded on the original expression in Ezra iv. 14, and published by commentators to the world; which expression informs us, that those that discouraged the rebuilding the Temple at Jerusalem, and wrote to an ancient Persian king on that subject, *were salted with the salt of his palace.*

Some have supposed that the words refer to their receiving a stipend from the king of Persia, which was wont to be paid in salt;* others suppose it expresses an ac-

* See Bishop Patrick on the place.

knowledgment that they were preserved by that king's protection, as flesh is preserved by salt.* And many pieces of collateral learning are introduced to embellish these conceits.

It is sufficient, to put an end to all these conjectures, to recite the words of a modern Persian monarch, whose court Chardin attended some time about business. "Rising in wrath against an officer, who had attempted to deceive him, he drew his sabre, fell upon him, and hewed him in pieces, at the feet of the grand Vizier, who was standing, and whose favour the poor wretch courted by this deception. And looking fixedly upon him, and the other great lords that stood on each side of him, he said, with a tone of indignation, 'I have then such ungrateful servants and traitors as these *to eat my salt*. Look on this sword, it shall cut off all these perfidious heads." Tome iii. p. 149.

The Persian great men do not receive their salaries, it is well known, in salt; and the officer that was killed was under the immediate protection of the grand Vizier, not the prince: our English version has given then the sense, though it has not literally translated the passage. It means the same thing as eating one's bread signifies here in the West, but, perhaps, with a particular energy.

I beg leave to introduce one remark here, of a very different nature, that we may learn from this story, that Samuel's hewing Agag in pieces,† though so abhorrent from our customs, differs very little, in many respects, from this Persian execution. Samuel was a person of high distinction in Israel, he had been their judge, or supreme governor under God; he was a Prophet too; and we are ready to think his sacred hands should not have been employed in the actual shedding of blood. How strange would it be in our eyes, if we should see one of our kings cutting off the head of a traitor with his own hands; or an archbishop of Canterbury stabbing a foreign

* Sanctius ap. Poli Syn. † 1 Sam. xv. 33.

captive prince! But different countries have very different usages. Soliman king of Persia, who hewed this unfaithful officer in pieces, reigned over a much larger and richer country than Judea, and at the same time was considered by his subjects as sacred a person as Samuel: supposed to be descended from their prophet Mohammed, to reign by a divine constitution, and to be possessed, we are assured by this writer in another place, of a kind of prophetic penetration and authority.

I have said, it appears to signify the same thing as eating one's bread in the West, but, probably, with some particular kind of energy, marking out not merely the obligations of gratitude, but the strictest ties of fidelity.

For as the letter was wrote not only by some of the great officers on the western side of the Euphrates, but in the name of the several colonies, of people that had been transplanted thither, the Dinaites, the Apharsathchites, the Tarpelites, &c. ver. 9, 10, it is not to be supposed these tribes of people all received their food from the palace, or a stipend for their support, but with great adulation they might pretend, they considered themselves as held under as strong engagements of fidelity to the kings of Persia, as if they had eaten salt in his palace.

The following story from d'Herbelot will explain this, if the views of these ancient Persians may be supposed to correspond with those of the Persians of the ninth century.

Jacoub ben Laith, the founder of a dynasty of Persian princes called the *Soffarides*, rising, like many other of the ancestors of the princes of the East, from a very low state to royal power, being in his first setting out in the use of arms, no better than a freebooter or robber, is yet said to have maintained some regard to decency in his depredations, and never to have entirely stripped those that he robbed, always leaving them something to soften their affliction.

Among other exploits that are recorded of him, he is said to "have broken into the palace of the prince of that

country, and having collected a very large booty, which he was on the point of carrying away, he found his foot kicked something, which made him stumble. He imagined it might be something of value, and putting it to his mouth, the better to distinguish what it was, his tongue soon informed him it was *a lump of salt*. Upon this, according to the morality, or rather superstition of the country, where the people considered salt as *a symbol and pledge of hospitality*, he was so touched, that he left all his booty, retiring without taking away any thing with him.

"The next morning, the risk they had run of losing many valuable things, being perceived, great was the surprise, and strict the inquiry what should be the occasion of their being left. At length Jacoub was found to be the person concerned, who having given an account, very sincerely, of the whole transaction to the prince, he gained his esteem so effectually, that it might be said with truth, that it was his *regard for salt*, that laid the foundation of his after fortune. The prince employed him as a man of courage and genius in many enterprises, and finding him successful in all of them, he raised him, by little and little, to the chief posts among his troops, so that at that prince's death, he found himself possessed of the command in chief, and had such interest in their affections, that they preferred his interests to those of the children of the deceased prince, and he became *absolute master* of that province, from whence he afterward spread his conquests far and wide."

When the Apharsathchites, the Tarpelites, and the other transplanted tribes told Artaxerxes, the Persian monarch, that they were salted with the salt of his palace, it appears according to these things, to mean, that they considered themselves as eating his bread, on account of being put and continued in possession of a considerable part of the Jewish country, by him and his predecessors; and that their engagements of fidelity to him were indeed as strong, as if they had eaten salt in his palace.

OBSERVATION XXIV.

EXPRESSIONS OF SURPRISE AMONG THE TURKS.

THERE is so much resemblance between an expression of surprise, made use of by the Turks, upon an exhibition of the military kind among them mentioned by the Baron de Tott, and some words of Balaam recorded in the book of Numbers, that I thought it might be worth while to take notice of it.

When the Baron de Tott was endeavouring to make them better gunners, for want of which they suffered such great losses in the war with the Russians, which terminated in 1774, he was forced by them, very contrary to his wish, to fire a cannon at a certain mark. Upon redoubled solicitations, he was prevailed on to point the piece, and was not less surprised than those around him, to see the bullet hit the piquet, in the centre of the butt. The cry *machalla* resounded on all sides.*

At the bottom of the page is this note: Machalla, (What GOD has done!) An expression of the greatest admiration.

This reminds one of an expression of Balaam, Numb. xxiii. 22, 23. GOD *brought them out of Egypt; he hath, as it were, the strength of an unicorn. Surely there is no enchantment against Jacob, neither is there any divination against Israel: according to this time it shall be said of Jacob, and of Israel,* What hath GOD wrought!

These words may be understood to be expressive of devotion, as well as surprise; but a word of this import appears to be used now in the East merely to signify surprise, and nothing more, probably, was meant by Balaam.

* Mem. vol. 2, part 3, p. 96.

OBSERVATION XXV.

OF THE HARD USAGE EXPERIENCED BY THE JEWS, WHO WERE CARRIED AWAY BY SENNACHERIB.

ACCORDING to the book of Tobit, the Jews of the ten tribes, that were carried away into captivity, were frequently slain, without just cause, by Sennacherib, out of resentment for his bad success against Jerusalem, in the time of Hezekiah; and also afterward by his son and successor. These slaughtered Jews, among his other good works, Tobit buried, and by that means exposed himself to great danger of being put to death. Tobit, c. ii. v. 3, &c.

The account is given us in the first and second chapters of that book, and contains, in other words, the following particulars: that the poor Jews of the captivity were frequently put to death arbitrarily: that their slaughtered bodies were oftentimes left unburied; that they were left on the outside of the town, near the walls of Nineveh; or left hanging upon the walls: for a different reading renders the account somewhat uncertain;* that the prince sometimes inquired after the dead bodies: that Tobit being complained of for burying them, he was sought for to be put to death for that reason; and that they were sometimes put to death in private, and afterward exposed to public view.

These modes of procedure are very abhorrent from our apprehensions of government, but quite answerable to what is to this day practised in the despotic countries of the East, which affords us a clear comment on these passages of the book of Tobit.

We are told, in this ancient Jewish book, that Tobit's son came and told his father, that one of their nation was

* The Vatican copy reading, οπισω τȣ τειχȣς Νινευη; the Alexandrine, according to Lambert Bos, επι τȣ τιχȣς εις Νινευη. Tob. chap. i. 17.

strangled, and was cast out in the market place.* His being cast into a place of public view, after he was strangled, seems to intimate that he was put to death in private and afterward exposed.

Niebuhr, in his description of Arabia, p. 11, gives just such an account of what happened at Basra,† a few days before his arrival there. "In that city," he tells us, "a very rich merchant, who had been received into the powerful body of the Janizaries, and had been at Mecca as a pilgrim, but who lived in enmity with the governor, was strangled *privately* a little before Niebuhr's arrival there, and his dead body thrown into the public market place."

Their executions are at other times public, and then commonly without their cities.‡ It seems to have been so anciently, and it is to this circumstance, I suppose, the Psalmist refers, when he says, Psal. lxxix. 2, 3, *The dead bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the heaven, the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth. Their blood have they shed like water* round about *Jerusalem: and there was none to bury them.*

It is to these executions without the walls that, probably, the author of this book of Tobit refers, when he says, *And if I saw any of my nation dead, or cast* about *the walls of Nineveh, I buried them.* The word in the Greek, according to some copies, is οπισω, *behind*, the walls of Nineveh. So the margin tells you it may be translated; it is, indeed, the proper meaning of the word. Different words are made use of to express lying about without the walls of the city, according to the view in which we speak of them. The people of Tyre, who lived at a distance from Jerusalem, when they brought their merchandise to this last mentioned city, but were not permitted to enter it, are said to have lodged *about*, or rather,

* Ch. ii. 3. † Or Bussorah, as we commonly call it.

‡ As appears by both Dr. Shaw and Pitts' account of Algiers.

according to the marginal translation, *before** the wall, Neh. xiii. 20, 21. But if this lodging *without the walls* of Jerusalem was lodging before the wall, with respect to strangers that lived in other towns, it was *behind* the wall with respect to those in Jerusalem. Thus in a *sacred song*, the hero of the piece is said by the lady, who is supposed to have been in a pleasure house or arbour, in a garden, to have stood *behind the wall*,† showing himself through the lattice. Cant. ii. 9.

If the reading of the Vatican copy, *behind* the walls of Nineveh, be right, Tobit appears to refer to the scene of Eastern executions, which is without the walls, and where afterward the dead bodies were left unburied; if the Alexandrine, επι *upon* the walls, then he must refer to the Eastern manner of sometimes executing criminals *on the walls* of their cities, either by hanging them from thence *by ropes*, or on *hooks* fastened in the wall.‡

I should think the first most natural, as it must have been much more difficult for Tobit to have taken the bodies of his countrymen from the walls, in order to inter them; than when left dead on the ground, after having had a cord twisted about their necks until they were dead, in which manner people are now often strangled in the East.

But in what place soever they lost their lives, it was, and is now understood to be highly criminal to bury them without permission. It is with us, in some cases, criminal, but not so universally as in those countries of slavery and cruelty. So Windus, in his account of Commodore Stewart's journey to Mequinez, assures us, as to those that are tossed by order of the emperor of Morocco, by which their necks are frequently broke, but who some-

* Απεναντι τ̃ τειχ̃ς is the translation of the Septuagint.

† Where the Septuagint renders it, οπισω τ̃ τοιχ̃ ημων.

‡ Of both which modes of punishment Dr. Shaw has given an account, p. 253, 254.

times escape with their lives, that such an one "must not stir a limb, if he is able, while the emperor is in sight, under penalty of being tossed again, but is forced to lie as if he were dead, which if he should really be, nobody dares bury the body until the emperor has given orders for it."* Again, speaking of a man sawn in two, p. 157, 158, he informs us, his body, "Must have remained to have been eaten by the dogs, if the emperor had not pardoned him: an extravagant custom, to pardon a man after he is dead; but unless he does so, nobody dares bury the body."

The like severity, according to this old Jewish writer, was practised at Nineveh, in the time of king Sennacherib: the supposing this was their way of proceeding, explains the nature of the complaint made to this prince concerning Tobit, by one of the Ninevites; and shows how natural it was, that he should be sought for to be put to death, and should withdraw for fear, though he was a person of some consideration: as the dead that had been executed for real or pretended crimes could not be buried without leave.

The emperor of Morocco not unfrequently pardons one he has put to death, upon which he is to be buried; which illustrates what is meant by the bodies being sought for by the king, and which could not be found, as having been buried by Tobit. The king of Nineveh directing such and such to be put to death; or having perhaps slain them, like this modern African prince, with his own hands, after some pause ordered them to be buried, when they were found to have been before hand taken away, and interred, which must have been extremely displeasing to so haughty and irritated a prince as Sennacherib is represented to have been.

The supposition of the book of Tobit, that many of the Jewish captives at Nineveh were slain arbitrarily by Sennacherib, and merely because he was in an ill humour, was an exertion of power frequently practised by Muley

* Page 92.

Ishmael of Morocco; so similar are the effects of ancient and modern despotism in the East and the South.

OBSERVATION XXVI.

OF THE PITCHED BOTTLES IN WHICH THE PERSIANS CARRY THEIR WINE, &c.

Sir John Chardin describes the Persians as sometimes transporting "their wine in buck or goat skins, which are pitched: and when the skin is good, the wine is not at all injured, nor tastes of the pitch.* At other times they send it in bottles, whose mouths are stopped with cotton, upon which melted wax is poured, so as quite to exclude the air. They pack them up in chests in straw, ten small bottles† in each, sending the celebrated wine of Shiraz thus through all the kingdom, into the Indies, and even to China and Japan.

In the same paragraph he tells us, they make rose water to transport to the Indies, and other things which he mentions, very good, and which will keep long, which are sent thither in bottles, which may hold about two pounds weight each, and are sent thither in chests. These bottles are apparently stopped with wax, like those of wine, though he does not say so in express terms. Hasselquist, however, speaking of the rose water of Egypt, which is so much praised for its fragrancy, tells us, that "an incredible quantity is distilled yearly at Fajhum, and sold in Egypt, being exported to other countries. An apothecary, who kept a shop in the street of the Franks, bought yearly 1500lbs. about 180 gallons, which he caused

* Tome 2, p. 67.

† These small bottles hold, according to him, four pints and an half, equal to nine English pints; some are so large as to hold five of the smaller sort, made of thick glass, and wickered to prevent their breaking. Tome 3, p. 145.

to be brought to the city in copper vessels, lined with wax, selling it to great profit at Cairo. The Eastern people use the water in a luxurious manner, sprinkling it on the hands, face, head and clothes of those they mean to honor."*

The term *lined* does not seem to be a word chosen with accuracy here; however, it is evident *wax* was the substance made use of to preserve this precious perfume from evaporating, or suffering any diminution as to the richness of its odour.

As to the ancient Romans, they were wont most certainly to use *pitch* to secure the wine vessels, as we learn from Horace,† whose editors have shown that it was according to one of the precepts of Cato. However, though pitch, and other matters of a grosser kind, might be used to close up their wine vessels, those that held their perfumes were doubtless closed with wax, or some such neat cement, since they were small, and made of alabaster, and other precious materials, which would by no means have agreed with such a coarse matter as pitch.

To close this observation, and bring it to the point I have in view, I would observe, that Propertius calls the opening a wine vessel, by breaking the cement that secured it, *breaking the vessel*:

> Cur ventos non ipse rogis, ingrate, petîsti?
> Cur nardo flammæ non oluere meæ?
> Hoc etiam grave erat, nullâ mercede hyacinthos
> Injicere, & *fracto busta piare cado*.
> Lib. iv. El. 7, v. 31, &c.

It cannot be supposed that Propertius meant, the earthen vessel should have itself been shivered into pieces, but only that its stopple should be taken out, to do which it was necessary to break the cement. For, according to Tibullus, a contemporary Roman poet, the wine used on those occasions was wont to be sprinkled on the bones,

* Page 249.

† Carm. lib. 3, Od. 8, v. 9, 10, 11, 12, Ed. Delph.

not poured like an ill directed torrent upon them, by breaking the earthen vessel itself.

Pars quæ sola mei superabit corporis, ossa
Incinctæ nigrâ candida veste legant:
Et primùm *annoso spargant collecta lyæo*,
Mox etiam niveo fundere lacte parent;
Post hæc carbaseis humorem tollere velis,
Atque in marmoreâ ponere *sicca* domo.
Lib. iii. El. 2, v. 17, &c.

Agreeably to this mode of expression, I presume, we are to understand that passage of St. Mark, in which he mentions a woman's bringing an alabastar box of ointment of spikenard, or liquid nard, according to the margin, very precious; and she brake the box, and poured it on his head. Ch. xiv. 3.

Commentators have been perplexed how to understand this: it seemed not only a piece of vain profusion to break an alabaster box in pieces, but disagreeable to have the shivers tumbling about the head of our LORD; on the other hand, the word translated *brake* seems to signify something different from the mere shaking the vessel, to render it more liquid. But if we understand it of the breaking the *cement*, with which it was more closely stopped, that circumstance appears natural, and such an explanation will be justified by the phraseology of Propertius, a writer of the same age.

I will only add, that it appears, from a passage in the Septuagint, that it was not usual to break vessels of alabaster, when they made use of the perfume in them, for they understand, 2 Kings xxi. 13, of such a vessel; rendering what we translate, "I will wipe Jerusalem, as a man wipeth a dish, wiping it, and turning it upside down," after this manner, "I will unanoint Jerusalem," if I may use such a term, that is, wipe away its perfume, "as an alabaster unanointed box is unanointed, and is turned down on its face;" that is, I apprehend, as an alabaster box emptied of its perfume is wiped out as clean as possible,

and turned upside down. This shows these Jewish translators supposed these vessels of perfume were not wont to be broken; but the cement that fastened the cover must have been broken when they first made use of a box.

Horace supposes some of those vessels into which perfumes were put, were considerably large:

. . . . . funde *capacibus*
Unguenta de conchis. . . . . .
Carm. lib. ii. Od. 7, v. 22, 23,
Ed. Delph.

The same is supposed in the Gospel of Saint John, chap. xii. 3, where the quantity some alabaster boxes would hold is supposed to be a pound weight of those times, or somewhat more than twelve ounces of our avoirdupois weight.

Liberal as one of the temper of Horace might be, we may believe he would not wish to apply such a quantity to every guest, and our LORD accordingly supposes, verse 7, that this was more like a funeral unction, than that of an entertainment, even of the most generous kind.

I will only add, that though a vase of alabaster was made use of when our LORD was anointed, yet Horace used the term *conchis*, which signifies *shells*, shells being, probably, the things first used for the putting up perfumes, they being principally the produce of Arabia, and the Red Sea, which washes the coast of that country, furnishing the inhabitants of it with shells very capacious for that purpose, and sufficiently convenient, as well as beautiful.

OBSERVATION XXVII.

OF THE ANCIENT AND MODERN MANNER OF TAKING AN OATH IN THE EASTERN COUNTRIES.

WHATEVER sense we put upon that circumstance of the swearing of Abraham's servant, when he was to fetch

a wife for Isaac out Mesopotamia, the *putting his hand under his master's thigh*, it is, I think, by no means to be considered as a deception, owing to a defect in Abraham's eye sight, but an intended ceremony, belonging to the solemnity of swearing.

I should hardly have made this observation, had not a learned and ingenious writer* seemed to suppose it was merely a deception: his words are these, "As the patriarchs so frequently ratify their promises by an oath, it may not be improper to observe, that the most solemn form was to raise the hand, and swear by the name of GOD. Gen. xiv. 22, xxi. 23. Abraham's servant indeed puts his hand under his master's thigh when he swears; but this I should suppose to arise from the eyes of the patriarch being so dim that he could not distinguish whether his servant raised his hand according to the common form, it being stated in the preceding verse, "that Abraham was old and well stricken in age," Gen. xxiv.

I cannot help expressing my surprise at this interpretation: the Hebrew historian informs us, that when Isaac was old, his eyes were so dim, that he could not see, Gen. xxvii. 1. The same is said of Jacob, Gen. xlviii. 10. But not a word of this kind concerning Abraham, nor do all aged people lose their eye sight. There is no sufficient ground then, on this account, to suppose a deception. Further, it was not the construction that Abraham put on the transaction, arising from the imperfection of his sight; but what he previously desired his servant to do: *Abraham said unto the eldest servant of his house, that ruled over all that he had, Put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh.* Gen. xxiv. 2. Jacob requested his son Joseph to do the like, ch. xlvii. 29. It was then intended and desired by Abraham and Jacob, consequently to be un-

* The honorable Daines Barrington, Esq. Archæologia, vol. 5, p. 125, note. The same paper furnishes the materials for the two succeeding Observations.

derstood as a ceremony of swearing, in those times, whether we understand its true meaning, or not.

Had the historian only said, the patriarch desired his servant to swear, and that, in consequence, he put his hand under Abraham's thigh, this writer's supposition would have been then inadmissible: for the servant appears to have been too religious a person, and too respectful to his master, to have treated him in this supposed ludicrous manner. The same may certainly be said of Joseph. Both he then, and Abraham's servant, undoubtedly sware in the manner the patriarchs desired; and which they would not have desired, if it had not been thought proper in that age. Nor is it imaginable that they pretendedly lifted up their hands in swearing, in the manner this gentleman supposes they should have done, according to the custom of those times, and that both the patriarchs should be so unluckily deceived, as to think they did, when in truth they only lifted up their hands as high, and no higher than *their* thighs; and if they had perceived the intended fraud, would they not have required them to perform the ceremony, of lifting up their hands to heaven in the proper manner? However, the putting their hands under the thigh of each patriarch respectively, was what they themselves required. The explanation then of this writer cannot be admitted, turn it which way you will.

The present mode of swearing among the Mohammedan Arabs, that live in tents as the patriarchs did, according to de la Roque,* is, by laying their hands on the Koran: it seems they cause those that swear to wash their hands before they give them the book; they put their left hand underneath, and the right hand over it: they make them swear upon the truth of what that book contains, and call GOD to witness they swear true. Whether, among the patriarchs, one hand was under, and the other upon the thigh, in like manner, is not certain.

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 152.

For it seems that among the ancient Jews, if they lifted up one hand to heaven, the other was frequently placed in another situation. *When the son of Shelomith cursed and blasphemed, they that heard him*, that is, the witnesses against him, *were directed to lay their hands upon his head, and then all Israel were to stone him with stones.* Lev. xxiv. 14. If in swearing then, in attestation of their having heard him, they lifted up one hand to heaven, the other was laid on the head of the criminal. And thus the apocryphal writer of the story of Susannah tells us, the wretched elders, that bore testimony against her, laid their hands upon her head, ver. 34. In these cases, it seems that one hand was stretched out toward heaven, calling GOD to witness to the truth of what they testified; the other hand laid on the accused party's head. Abraham's servant then, and Joseph, might swear, with one hand stretched out to heaven, the other under the thigh of the patriarchs. Or their manner of swearing might more early resemble the present Arab mode.

As the posterity of the patriarchs are described as coming out of their thigh, Gen. xlvi. 26, and Exod. i. 5, see the margin, to which may be added Judges viii. 30, it has been supposed, this ceremony of putting the hand under the thigh, had some relation to their believing the promise of GOD, to bless all the nations of the earth,* by means of one that was to descend from Abraham, and from Jacob.

To return to the present Arab mode of swearing: placing one hand under, and the other above a book, supposed to contain in writing the sure promises of GOD, signifies they believed what they swore to be as true as those declarations calling GOD to witness. Now I would ask, whether one hand under the thigh of the patriarch might not be swearing on the truth of an unwritten promise, re-

* Gen. xii. 3, ch. xxiii. 15.

lating to the posterity of Abraham, which, in the language of that country and age, were considered as coming out of the thigh; and if the other hand was lifted up to heaven, as calling GOD to witness that they spoke from the heart, whether such management would not be very agreeable to the present Arab mode of swearing, or, at least, the Jewish form?

Mr. Barrington's explanation, whatever may be thought of this which I have now proposed, certainly cannot be just.*

OBSERVATION XXVIII.

OF THE PITCHERS USED TO FETCH WATER.

THE vessel that the Eastern women frequently make use of, for the purpose of carrying water, is described as like our jars, and is, it seems, of earth.

Bishop Pococke, in his journey from Acre to Nazareth, observed a well, where oxen were drawing up water, from whence women carried water up a hill, in earthen jars to water some plantations of tobacco.† In the next page he mentions the same thing in general, and speaks of their carrying the jars on their heads. There is no reason to suppose, this kind of vessel was appropriated to the carrying water for the purposes of agricul-

* Neither Mr. Barrington's explanation nor that of Mr. Harmer is correct. From the time that GOD made the covenant with Abraham, and enjoined circumcision as its *sign* and *seal*, the patriarchs swore by the covenant, and to make the oath binding, put their hands on the *seal* of the covenant: this is what the Scriptures *modestly* express by *putting the hand under the thigh*, and which the Chaldee Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel expresses without circumlocution, which is followed nearly in the same track by the Jerusalem Targum. שוי כדון ידך בגזירת מהולתי *pone nunc manum tuam in sectione circumcisionis meæ.* This custom may seem strange to us, and perhaps our *kissing* the New Test. would not appear less so to them. EDIT.

† Vol. ii. p. 61, and 62.

ture, it might do equally well when they carried it for domestic uses.

Such seems to have been the sort of vessels in which the women of ancient times fetched water, for it is called a *kad* in the history of Rebecca, Gen. xxiv. 14, &c. and I have elsewhere shown, that that word signifies a jar of considerable size, in which they keep their corn, and in which, at least sometimes, they fetched their water.

The honorable Mr. Barrington, in the fifth volume of the Archæologia, p. 121, mentions, among the other customs of the patriarchs, the women's carrying water in pitchers on their shoulders; which minute circumstance is mentioned, because the painters, in representing subjects from the patriarchal history, often offended against the *costumi*. For the same reason it may not be improper to observe, that the pitcher, or vessel to receive the water, was probably composed of a skin, or bladder, as Hagar carries the water in, ασκω υδατος, according to the Septuagint, though it is rendered in our version a *bottle*.

The want of attention to what is called the costumi in painting, is undoubtedly a fault, and sometimes truly ridiculous. But I am afraid a painter would not escape the censure of a rigid critic, if he should follow this writer's ideas, in drawing Rebecca at the well. A bladder is, I believe, never used by the Eastern people for carrying of water, nor would it be a proper vessel, for that purpose, as water easily passes through a bladder, and would waste space in that hot country. Hagar would be properly drawn with a leather bottle on her shoulder, when she was sent away by Abraham into the Wilderness, for the Hebrew word חמת *chemath* seems to signify such a vessel, as well as the Greek term ασκον υδατος used by the Septuagint; but it would be a transgression of those rules of accuracy Mr. Barrington would have observed, to draw Rebecca at the well with such a vessel, for the original word כד *kad* signifies an earthen jar, which ought to be placed somehow on her shoulder, or on her head, if we would explain an-

cient managements wholly by modern customs, not a leather bottle, or a vessel made of a skin, such as was given Hagar.

Instead of such a vessel, I have seen a picture of Hagar's distress, when her son was ready to die with thirst in the Wilderness, of no contemptible workmanship, with respect to the mechanical part, in which Ishmael is represented as laying his arm on an empty Virginian gourd shell, an American water vessel, and what was worse, the landscape was agreeably verdant and flowery, and the expiring youth, of fourteen years old at least, was represented as a lovely smiling infant of about a year and a half, perfectly unacquainted with thirst, or any other want.*

Since the above was written, I have observed a passage in Dr. Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor, that confirms and illustrates the preceding account: "The women," says the Doctor, "resort to the fountains by their houses, each with a large two handled earthen jar, on the back, or thrown over the shoulder for water."†

This account of the jars made use of by the Greek women of the island of Tenedos may, very naturally, be understood to be a modern, but accurate comment on what is said concerning Rebecca's fetching water.

The Eastern women according to Dr. Pococke, sometimes carry their jars upon their heads; but Rebecca's was carried on her shoulder.

In such a case, the jar is not to be supposed to have been placed upright on the shoulder, but held by one of the handles, with the hand over the shoulder, and suspended in this manner on the back. Held, I should imagine, by the right hand over the left shoulder. Consequently, when it was to be presented to Abraham's servant, that he might drink out of it, it was to be gently moved over the left arm, and being suspended by one

* Compare Gen. xvii. 25, with chap. xxi. 14. † Page 21.

hand, while the other, probably was placed under the bottom of the jar, it was in that position presented to Abraham's servant, and his attendants, to drink out of. *She said, Drink, my lord, and she hasted, and let down her pitcher upon her hand, and gave him drink.* Ver. 18.

OBSERVATION XXIX.

OF THE VEILS USED BY WOMEN IN THE EAST.

Rebecca's covering herself with a veil, when Isaac came to meet her, which is mentioned Gen. xxiv. 65, is to be considered, rather as a part of the ceremonial belonging to the presenting a bride to her intended husband; than an effect either of female delicacy, or desire to appear in the most attractive form.

"It is impossible," says Mr. Barrington,* "however, that Rebecca's θερίσρον could have been the same with Tamar's, for a veil covering the face is stated to be peculiar to harlots; I therefore rather understand that Rebecca, upon seeing her destined husband, alights off her camel to put on a clean habit, and appear as smart as possible. As for raising a veil on approaching a man, it must be remembered she had travelled with Abraham's servant."

Travelling before with Abraham's head servant, and his companions, for he had several men with him,† she, doubtless, before Isaac appeared, had observed all the decencies ancient Eastern modesty required, as Mr. Barrington supposes: her covering herself then with a veil was not on that account. But neither was it, I should imagine, the effect of female solicitude to set herself off

* Archæologia, vol. 5, p. 121. † Gen. xiv. 31, 59.

to advantage, as Mr. Barrington rather humourously supposes. It is most probable, that it was a part of the ceremonial of those times, on such occasions.

The Eastern brides are wont to be veiled in a particular manner, when presented to the bridegroom. Those that give us an account of their customs, at such times, take notice of their being veiled all over. Dr. Russell gives us this circumstance in his account of a Maronite wedding,* which, he says, may serve as a specimen of all the rest, there being nothing materially different in the ceremonies of the different sects.†

His mentioning her being veiled quite over,‡ seems to express the veil being larger than usual at such time; as the colour, which, he tells us, is red,|| is mentioned as different from that of common veils.

The veil, I suppose, that Rebecca put on, was such a one as was appropriate to such a solemnity, and that she was presented to Isaac by her *nurse*, and other female attendants in form.

I do not know that it is so inconsistent as this ingenious writer supposes, if we should believe Tamar's veil was much the same as Rebecca's: both differed from those the Eastern women wear in common; but the going, in procession, to meet a bridegroom, certainly was a sufficient difference from the sittting by the way side, unattended, and even quite alone, in such a dress as was the wonted prelude to matrimonial transactions.

* Descript. of Aleppo, vol. ii. p. 80. † Vol. ii. p. 84.

‡ One of the plates in the first volume of Niebuhr's Voy. en Arabie & en d'autres Pays circonvoisins, is a representation of a nuptial procession, where the bride is represented in this manner veiled all over, and attended by other women in common veils, which do not prevent their eyes being seen.

|| Red gauze, p. 126.

OBSERVATION XXX.

OF THE EASTERN SHAWLS.

VESTMENTS, or parts of dress, were certainly, in ancient times, presented among other things to the great;* but there is one article that comes under that description now made use of in the East, that, probably, was never thought of two thousand years ago, I mean *shawls*.

That shawls are frequently made presents of to the great, appears from Irwin's Travels up the Red Sea, and through the deserts of Egypt. In p. 60, he tells us, that they presented a shawl to the vizier of Yambo. In another place he observes, that the only finery worn by the great Sheekh of the Arabs in Upper Egypt, was an orange coloured shawl carelessly thrown about his shoulders.† They, it seems, had presented him, according to a preceding page,‡ with two fine shawls. It is then a part of Eastern magnificent dress, and given to the great by way of present.

Nor was it what these English gentlemen fancied might be an agreeable present to them, but he elsewhere informs us, shawls were what some of them desired might be given them by way of present. So the young sheekh that convoyed them from Cosire to the Nile, had a shawl given him, to which he had taken a liking, besides his proper pay, p. 187. So the avaricious and oppressive vizier of Ghinnah politely insinuated that a shawl or two would be very acceptable to him, and accordingly, Irwin tells us, that having two fine ones belonging to his Turkish dress, which had stood him in one hundred dollars, these were presented to the vizier, p. 189.

These shawls are made, it seems, of camel's hair, or fine Cashmirian wool, and are very valuable, according to a note on the passage of the Tales of Inantula.‖

* 2 Kings v. 26, 1 Kings x. 25. † Page 285. ‡ Page 272.

‖ Vol. 1, p. 205.

I mention these shawls, and the materials of which they are made, in order to remove a difficulty that may arise in some minds, upon reading the account of the dress of John the Baptist, who was clothed in raiment made of camel's hair, Matth. iii. 4, and Mark i. 6. Could the being dressed in camel's hair ever be supposed to be a dress of mortification, or even of rural meanness, when shawls are made of that material, which are so costly, and so highly valued?

I have touched upon this matter in a preceding volume; but, as I think it may be explained more satisfactorily still, I would take the liberty of resuming the consideration of it again, among these additional Observations.

The vestments of the great, in the time of John Baptist, were purple and fine linen, Luke xvi. 19. The first precious on account of the dye, the other for its fineness. But woollen garments were not highly esteemed.* They did not well agree with that neatness, and freedom from ill scents, so much attended to in the East. Cashmirian wool appears not to have been known, or any wool drawn out to greater fineness. The same may be said, I apprehend of camel's hair. They had not learned to manufacture it, as is now done in the East, in a manner which renders what is made of it so valuable. Possibly the hair of the Jewish camels will not now admit of being so manufactured; but if it might have been spun to that degree of fineness, it certainly was not so managed in the time of our LORD, much less in earlier ages, since we find no reference in the Scriptures to what supposes the manufacturing of camel's hair, only in the case of the Baptist, whose raiment is evidently represented as mean, if not mortifying. *What went ye out for to see? A man clothed in soft raiment? Behold, they that wear soft clothing are in king's houses,* Matth.

* See Ezek. xliv. 17, 18.

xi. 8. They that wear shawls are such as attend the houses of kings and princes; the garments of John were of a very different kind.

In short, as our shepherds now pick up the wool the sheep lose from their backs, by means of the bushes, or other accidents, which they spin into the coarser yarn, and knit into stockings for their own wear; so it is sufficiently apparent, that the inhabitants of the Jewish deserts where John resided, made a very coarse stuff of the hair that came off their camels, for their own immediate use, which dress John adopted when he lived among those poor people.

So we find the Tartars of our time manufacture their camel's hair into a kind of felt, with which they cover those slight frames of woodwork, which, so covered, form the habitations in which they live: but the way of life of those people is looked upon as the reverse of what is easy and pompous.*

OBSERVATION XXXI.

CURIOUS INFORMATION CONCERNING THE AGE OF SARAH.

Among many matters in the Old Testament, which the licentious wit of Monsieur Voltaire has made the subject of improper pleasantry, is the account Moses has given us of Sarah's being sought for by two kings, when she passed for Abraham's sister, and was supposed to be at liberty to marry. Her age is the great objection, and supposed to be sufficient not only to destroy the probability of those facts, but to hold them up as just subjects of ridicule.

The well known frequent marriages of Oriental princes with women of the lowest class, on the one hand; and on

* Baron de Tott's Mem. part 2, p. 50.

the other, the figure that some make in those countries now, who lead a pastoral life, which cannot be contested, and which is affirmed to have been the situation of Abraham,* cut off all other objections to this account of the sacred historian. But some of my readers may wish to see the difficulty arising from her age somewhat softened.

Sarah, it has been remarked, was just ten years younger than Abraham.† Consequently, as Abraham was seventyfive years old when he removed from Haran to the land of Canaan,‡ Sarah must have been at that time sixtyfive. Is it possible to believe, that after that time princes could desire to associate her with their other women? Such is the objection of Voltaire, and it is proposed with a triumphant air.

I would beg leave to observe two things in reply.

In the first place, the circumstances of mankind are represented, by Moses, as considerably different in the earlier ages of the world from what they are now. The length of human life very much differed, according to Moses, from what it was in after times, and all allow that he makes this supposition. I apprehend he supposes, in like manner, the length of the middle stage of life differed from what is now known to take place. Before Isaac was born, it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women ;|| but this change does not appear to have happened before coming into Canaan, yet that would have been the case, many years before, had human nature un-

* "Abram was very rich in *cattle*, in *silver*, and in *gold*," Gen. xiii. 2. "When Abram heard that his brother was taken captive, he armed his *trained servants, born in his own house, three hundred and eighteen*, and pursued them to Dan ; and he divided himself against them, he and his servants by night, and smote them," namely, four Eastern kings, Gen. xiv. 14, 15. "The children of Heth answered Abraham, saying unto him, Hear us, my lord ; thou art a *mighty prince* amongst us : in the choice of our sepulchres," &c. Gen. xxiii. 5, 6.

† For, according to Gen. xvii. 17, when Abraham was one hundred years old, Sarah was ninety.

‡ Gen. xii. 4. || Gen. xviii. 11.

gone no alteration since her time.* The representations of Moses seem to point out, not only a change as to the length of life; but a difference as to the approach of the imperfections of old age. Sarah's capacity then for the having of children might continue till eighty, or near ninety, as well as a modern Aleppine lady find those powers continue until forty, and sometimes fortyfive; and Abraham might be in a state of no greater decay at one hundred and seventyfive, than is among us in men at eightyfive, who are considered as persons that wear well.† This seems visibly the representation of Moses.

And as there are occasional deviations, in these respects, from the usual course of things among us, from time to time, unknown causes might operate generally, in those early periods, in retarding matters. Moses appears to have supposed such a difference existed, and his accounts are to be explained accordingly.

If then it ceased not to be with Sarah after the manner of women until she was about eighty,‡ and her comeliness until that time as great as in many women in our country at forty, her age, when sought for by the king of Egypt,‖ which, according to the common chronological tables, was when she was about sixtysix, and, consequently, according to the representations of Scripture, when she had all the agreeableness of a woman of three and thirty among us, her age, I say, cannot be considered as a circumstance that renders the account incredible.

What her age was when Abimelech the king of Gerar took her, Gen. xx. 1, 2, does not appear. She was older, and probably some years; but as the particulars of this history do not appear to be ranged in nice order, we cannot say how many.

* Russel's Hist. of Aleppo.

† I have since remarked, that the author of the Letters of the German and Polish Jews to Monsieur Voltaire, had made a similar observation.

‡ It is certain, that she gave not over expecting children, until she had been ten years in the land of Canaan, from what Moses has said, Gen. xvi. 1, 2, 3, when she was seventyfive years old.

‖ Gen. xii. 14, 15.

The second thing I would mention is, that though the modern kings of the East have many women, and choose the persons most agreeable to them out of all their subjects, yet for one reason or other, they sometimes pitch upon such as are not very young. The ancient princes then of that country, it must be allowed, might do the same. Sir John Chardin has given us, in his travels, a remarkable instance of this kind, which I would here set down, after premising that it relates to a princess of Georgia, and a celebrated and mighty Persian monarch.

Abas, sirnamed the Great, endeavouring to make a total conquest of Georgia, Taimuras, who then reigned over part of that country as a dependent prince, sent his mother to try to accommodate matters with him. This princess was at that time a nun, having assumed that character upon her becoming a widow. The nuns of that country make no vows, nor quit their former abode; they only wear a religious habit, and live more retired than they did. Mariana, or Ketavané, for the Georgian princess was called by both names, set out with a great train, and magnificent presents. She made so much haste, that Abas had not left Ispahan when she arrived there. She threw herself at his feet, implored pardon for her son, and made such submissions as she apprehended might appease the king.

This princess was then considerably advanced in age;* but is certain was still handsome. Abas fell in love with her, or pretended to do so, the day he saw her. He desired her to embrace his religion, and said he would marry her. This princess, attached to her religion, and a life of chastity, still more than she hated the confinement of the Persian queens, refused to comply, with a virtue and firmness that could not be conquered, and quite astonishing in a Georgian lady. Abas, irritated by a refusal, or making this a pretence, for it is believed that he intended not to marry Ketavané, but in order to take vengeance on

* Her age is not distinctly mentioned, but she was then a grandmother.

Taimuras, sent the princess a prisoner to a distant place, and caused her two grandsons to be castrated and become Mohammedans,* whom Taimuras had sent to him as hostages. After which he set out for Georgia. Ketavané remained a prisoner many years, and afterward was removed to Shiras, where she suffered a cruel martyrdom, in the year 1624, a considerable time after Abas had conquered all Georgia. He then wrote to the governor of Shiras to force Ketavané to embrace Mohammedanism at any rate, and to proceed to the utmost extremities, of promises, threatenings, and even blows, should he not succeed. The governor showed the order to the princess, supposing the sight of it might prevail, but he was disappointed. Torments could not subdue this heroic and holy soul. She suffered a variety of them, and died upon burning coals, with which they were tormenting her, having endured a martyrdom of eight years for Jesus Christ, so much the more bitter, as they were continually varying her torments, and daily renewing them.

Her body, thrown out on a dunghill, was taken away in the night by the Augustinian monks, who were then settled at Shiras, embalmed, put into a coffin, and secretly sent to Taimuras by one of their companions.

Such is the substance of the story,† which shows, that it is by no means an incredible thing that an Eastern prince, with a great variety of women belonging to him, might nevertheless, wish to add another, in middle life to the rest, either really from affection, or for political reasons. And it shows, that if it was not from an affection he had really conceived, which yet the violence with which he afterward treated her seems to indicate, his love like that of Amnon in the Old Testament,‡ turning into hatred; yet that at least it was not so improbable an event, but that he might very well make it pass for an af-

* The Georgians are Christians. † Voy. tome i. p. 127.

‡ 2 Sam. xiii. 15.

fection he had conceived for her. Abas was too refined a politician to make use of a pretence that was unnatural, and even absurd.

Nor is this the only instance of this kind that Sir John has given us, in his account of his travels. Presently after this story, he gives an account of a princess of Mingrelia, who, after having married a petty Christian prince thereabouts, was married to a Persian nobleman, whose name was Rustam Chan. Rustam, he says, died in 1640. His adopted son succeeded him, whom the Persian monarch caused to be circumcised when young. When Rustam died, the princess Mary, his widow, understood, that from too advantageous representations of her beauty, made to the king of Persia, his majesty had ordered she should be sent to him. She was advised to fly into Mingrelia, or to conceal the place of her abode. She took a different course; for being very sensible that there was no place in all Persia where the king would not find her out, she shut herself up for three days in the fortress of Trifflis; which was, in truth, nothing less than the delivering herself up to the mercy of him that wanted to have her in his power. She submitted herself all this time to the inspection of the wives of the commander; and having sent for him afterward into her apartment, she caused him to be told, that upon the testimony of those ladies there, who had seen her,* he might write word to the king, that she was not such a beauty as to be desired by him, that she was in years and not altogether straight. That she conjured his majesty to permit her to end her days in her own country. At the same time she sent the king a present of a large quantity of gold and silver, and four young damsels of extraordinary beauty. After sending away her present, this princess would see nobody. She gave herself up to devotion, giving many alms to poor people, that they might pray for her. At the end of

* Il pouvoit ecire au Roi, qu'elle n'etoit pas d'une beauté á se faire desirer, qu'elle etoit agée, et meme un peu contrefaite.

three months, an order came from the king to Canavas Chan, the adopted son of her husband Rustam, to marry her. He received the order with joy, as this princess Mary was very rich, and he married her, though he had at that time another wife. He always testified a great regard for her, on the account of her great wealth.*

Such is the account in short, and it proves, with the other, that it is very possible for reports to be raised, in those countries, of the extraordinary beauty of some of the women there; that their being in middle life will not prevent such reports, or hinder princes from seeking to add them to those they are already possessed of; and that the mere proving they are not young, has not been thought sufficient, by the parties concerned, to prevent disagreeable consequences.

The great preservative from such applications, used among the people of Georgia, is to marry their daughters that are handsome, very young. And it seems that they are very cautious not to violate such connexions, even though they are infants that are so married, and that they do not easily allow themselves to take them away from the families to which they belong.†

If such attention is wont to be paid to rights of marriage in those countries, their whole history shows, their princes are not very scrupulous as to the taking away the lives of considerable people, when they stand in their way.

And if the like spirit was common in Egypt and Gerar, in the time of Abraham, it is neither incredible, nor very unlikely, that the beauty of Sarah should be much talked of, or that Abraham should be apprehensive of his life on that account.‡

* Page 129, 130. † Page 130.

‡ The like appears in the history of Rebekah, Gen. xxvi. 7.

OBSERVATION XXXII.

DEFENCE OF THE SCRIPTURE ACCOUNT OF DINAH, AGAINST THE OBJECTIONS OF VOLTAIRE.

Monsieur Voltaire objects in like manner,* to the probability of the Old Testament history, in the account given us there of the dishonor done to Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, by a Hivite prince in Canaan, Gen. xxxiv. 1, 2, who he supposes, was too young to have suffered such an injury, or to have excited the libidinousness of Shechem.

The age he is pleased to assign her, when this unhappy affair happened, is six years only. As he has not informed us, from what documents he derived this discovery, we are at liberty to contest it.

Those that added little chronological notes to our English Bibles, have supposed, it did not happen until seven years after Jacob's return from Padan Aram, for they set down the year 1739 before Christ, for the year of his return, and 1732 as the year when Dinah was dishonored. Whether this computation be exact or not, there is reason to believe there could not be less than seven years between Jacob's return and that unhappy event. For as Jacob was but twenty years in all, in Padan Aram, or Mesopotamia, Gen. xxx. 41; and was seven years there before he married, Gen. xxxix. 20—27; Reuben could be but twelve years old when Jacob returned, Simeon eleven, and Levi ten; and seven years after Simeon could be only eighteen, and Levi seventeen, and we cannot well suppose, that, under that age, they would have used their swords with such boldness, in resentment for the affront offered to their sister, as to set upon the Hivite prince and his people, though they were in a wounded state, and though these youths might be accompanied by some of their father's servants.

* White Bull, second part, p. 19.

And if Levi was then seventeen, and Judah sixteen, Leah might have ceased bearing four years, and becoming pregnant again might have presented Jacob with a fifth and a sixth son, and after them a daughter, who might be ten years of age, when Simeon was eighteen. But the suspension of Leah's child bearing might very well be estimated at less than four years; and it might be a year or two more than seven years before the event happened.

Reckoning her, however, only at ten years of age when Shechem treated her after this manner, the two following citations will prove there was nothing incredible in it, and that a young libidinous Eastern prince may be supposed to have been guilty of such a fact.

The first citation shall be from Niebuhr's account of Arabia: 'I have heard speak in Persia of one that was a mother at thirteen: they there marry girls at nine years of age, and I knew a man whose wife was no more than ten years old when the marriage was consummated.' P. 63.

The other is from Dr. Shaw's Travels and observations. Speaking of the inhabitants of Barbary, he says, 'The men, indeed, by wearing only the tiara, or a skull cap, are exposed so much to the sun, that they quickly attain the swarthiness of the Arab; but the women, keeping more at home, preserve their beauty until they are thirty; at which age they begin to be wrinkled, and are usually past childbearing. It sometimes happens that one of these girls is a mother at eleven, and a grandmother at two and twenty.'* P. 241, 242. If they become mothers at eleven, they must have had intimate intercourse with the male sex at ten, or thereabouts; and this cannot be supposed to be very extraordinary, when the daughter of such an one is supposed to become a mother too by eleven.

It cannot then be incredible that Shechem should cast his eyes on Dinah at ten years of age, and should desire

* I knew a lady, a native of St. Helena, who had her two first children at separate births, before she was fourteen years of age. EDIT.

to marry her at that age; if human nature in the East then was similar, in that respect, to what it is now. But she might be considerably older than ten when this affair happened, for aught that is said in the book of Genesis relative to this matter.

OBSERVATION XXXIII.

OF PURCHASING WIVES IN THE EAST.

The Bedouin Arabs are said to make a purchase of their wives; and it may be supposed, that the patriarchs, who lived much the same kind of life under tents, had the same usage: but we are not to imagine, that the sheep and the oxen, the servants, with the camels and asses, mentioned Gen. xii. 16, acquired by Abraham in Egypt, were paid by Pharaoh to Abraham, in exchange for Sarah: nor that they were simply the fruits of his industry and skill in the arts of the pastoral life. Neither the one nor the other is to be understood, to have been pointed out in that passage.

That the modern Arabs who live under tents purchase their wives, is affirmed by de la Roque: "properly speaking, a young man that would marry, must buy his wife; and fathers, among the Arabs, are never more happy than when they have many daughters. This is a principal part of the riches of a house. Accordingly, when a young man would treat with a person whose daughter he is inclined to marry, he says to him, will you give me your daughter for fifty sheep; for six camels; or for a dozen cows? &c. If he is not rich enough to make such offers, he will propose the giving her to him for a mare, or a young colt: considering in the offer, the merit of young women; the rank of her family; and the circumstances of him that desires to marry her. When they are agreed

on both sides, the contract is drawn up by him that acts as cadi or judge among these Arabs," &c.*

Traces of this custom may be remarked in the patriarchal history. Thus Shechem, the son of Hamor, an Hivite prince of the land of Canaan, who was extremely desirous of marrying Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, said to Jacob, and his sons, by whom he apparently supposed Jacob was influenced, as to refusing and complying; and if he complied, as to the terms on which he would consent she should become his wife; *Ask me never so much dowry and gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me: but give me the damsel to wife. And the sons of Jacob answered Shechem and Hamor his father deceitfully*, &c.† In these views only, I apprehend, the sons of Jacob could be supposed to be concerned in the disposal of Dinah. However, we see plainly Shechem proposed both a dowry and a gift, according to our translation: that is, a settlement of what should afterwards be the wife's to support her, and do what she pleased with, in case of his death, or her being divorced by him; and the other a present in hand made to the father, to consent that his daughter should become the wife of him that made that present.

But though I question the exactness of the translation, since I find מהר *mohar*, the first of the two words sometimes signifies a *gift*, which could not be intended for futurity, and particularly not for a dowry, of which we have an instance, 1 Sam. xviii. 25, which though called a *dowry* in our translation, could not possibly mean any thing but a present to the father, according to custom, to induce him to be willing to give Michal, his daughter, to David for his wife; so in some other places, where it may signify a dowry, it may as well signify the gift given to the father, as a dowry settled on the wife. So the word may be understood, Exodus xxii. 16, 17. But whether

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 222.

† Gen. xxxiv. 12, 13.

the first of these two words in Gen. xxiv. signifies a dowry, or not, it appears from some of these places, a gift was to be given to the father. I would add that probably the second word מתן *matan*, translated gift, means the dowry, properly speaking, the gift to the bride.

But I should hardly think a gift of this kind was, according to their usages, to be given to Abraham, as Sarah's brother. A brother does not appear to have had such a right. Accordingly we find, that when Abraham's servant made a contract in his master's name, that Rebekah should be Isaac's wife, we have no account of any previous present given, or promised to Laban her brother, though after it was agreed upon, and the matter settled, the servant *ex abundanti*, and as an expression of friendship and generosity, *brought forth jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, as well as raiment, which he gave to Rebekah, giving also to her brother, and to her mother, precious things.* Gen. xxiv. 53.

When then the 12th of Gen. ver. 16, gives an account of many valuable things that Abraham acquired in Egypt, whither he went to avoid a famine, I cannot think they were the acquisitions arising from his trading, in a common way, with the Egyptians, since these acquisitions are not only ascribed to the favour of Pharaoh, "He entreated Abram well for her sake;" but the sheep and the camels he became possessed of there, would, in trafficking, have been the very things he would have sold, in order to obtain corn for himself and family. On the other hand, I cannot suppose it was a valuable consideration paid by Pharaoh to Abraham, to permit him to espouse, one that was taken to be his sister, as a brother appears not to have had such a right; it remains therefore, that it is to be understood to be a gift of generosity, like that made to Laban, mentioned in Gen. xxiv.

Perhaps we may wonder that, in this enumeration of particulars, no mention is made of corn or bread, especially as it was a time of famine, or other provisions of the vege-

table kind, as figs, raisins, &c. nor yet any mention made of silver, gold, and precious vestments, and other rich things produced in that country, or imported into it,* but we are to remember, it appears from Gen. xiii. 2, that there was no design to give us a complete catalogue, on the one hand; and, on the other, that the particulars that are mentioned, were selected to explain the reason of the following account, of the parting of Abraham from Lot, which became necessary on account of the great multiplication of their cattle and servants.†

OBSERVATION XXXIV.

OF THE ROCK ALTARS IN THE HOLY LAND.

THERE must have been something particular in the aspect of Judea, at least very different from that part of England where I am writing these Observations, since we find mention made of a rock, more than once, of a proper form for offering sacrifices on, which could not easily have been found in the county of Suffolk: the altar here must have been some hillock of earth, or some humble structure of loose stones, piled up in haste.

But the circumstances I am referring to, in the histories of Gideon and Manoah,‡ are extremely well illustrated,

* Especially if we recollect what it was Joseph gave to his brethren, in such a state, Gen. xlv. 23, and what he sent to his father at the same time, ver. 23.

† Gen. xiii. 6, 7, 8.

‡ "Manoah said unto the angel of the LORD, I pray thee, let us detain thee, until we shall have made ready a kid for thee. And the angel of the LORD said unto Manoah, 'Though thou detain me, I will not eat of thy bread: and if thou wilt offer a burnt offering, thou must offer it unto the LORD, for Manoah knew not that it was an angel of the LORD. - - So Manoah took a kid, with a meat offering, and offered it *upon a rock* unto the LORD: and the angel did wonderously, and Manoah and his wife looked on. For it came to pass when the flame went up toward heaven *from off the altar*, that the angel of the LORD ascended in the flame of the *altar*,' &c. Judges xiii. 15—20. Here we see the *rock* was made use of

by some things mentioned occasionally by Doubdan, in the account of his journey to the Holy Land, for he speaks of many rocks which he found rising up out of the earth there, and some as parts of great rocks fallen down. Some of them are described in such a manner, as shows they resembled altar tombs, or altars. It will not be improper to produce some citations here from this writer.

Speaking of his returning from a town called St. Samuel, to Jerusalem, by a way leading to the sepulchres of the judges of Israel, he tells us, p. 98, 99, that he found them in a great field, planted with vines, in which were great and mighty rocks, which rose out of the earth; among them, one, near the way side, was so large, as to be hollowed out into several rooms; in whose sides were long and narrow holes cut out, proper for placing the dead in, even with the floor. When he was at Joppa, waiting to embark, upon his return, he describes himself and companion, as placing themselves, after they had walked until they were tired, on the beach, viewing some Greek pilgrims, who were also waiting to take ship, and who amused themselves with dancing on the shore, I say, he describes himself and companion as placing themselves in the shade of a great rock, *newly fallen down from the mountains*, p. 455. Rocks then appear in this country here and there: some in their original situation, rising out of the ground; others are fragments, that have been detached from rocky eminences, and have fallen down on the ground below.

as an altar, and is so called. Such altar like rocks seem not to have been very rare in that country: for we read elsewhere in that book, "Gideon went in, and made ready a kid, and unleavened cakes of an ephah of flour; the flesh he put in a basket, and he put the broth in a pot, and brought it out to him under the oak, and presented it. And the angel of God said to him, 'Take the flesh, and the unleavened cakes, and *lay them upon this rock*, and pour out the broth.' And he did so. Then the angel of the Lord put forth the end of the staff that was in his hand, and touched the flesh and the unleavened cakes; and there arose up fire *out of the rock*, and consumed the flesh and the unleavened cakes." Judges vi. 19—21.

Of this considerable number of rocks, some were flat, or nearly flat, on the top, so as conveniently enough to be used for altars. There are some such now found in that country. Visiting Mount Olivet, Doubdan found, near the garden of Gethsemanè, a great reddish rock, smooth and polished, rising about two feet from the ground, on which were three small protuberances, which he was told served for pillows for St. Peter, St. Sohn, and St. James, to sleep upon, as they lay on the top of this rock, when our LORD was in his agony in that garden, page 107. If really used by those apostles to sleep upon, no art was used by them to make it flat and convenient for lying on; and if not, we know of no use that it can be imagined to have been designed for, that should have occasioned it to have been cut into that shape: it appears then to have been a natural accident.

At page 161, we find an account of their meeting with a rocky stone rooted in the earth, a good foot high, in the middle of their road, on which they were told John the Baptist was sometimes wont to take his repose. This supposes it was tolerably flat. Others might be mentioned.*

Rocks then, which might conveniently enough be made use of as altars, were not unfrequent in that country: which illustrates those parts of the histories of two of the judges, who are represented as placing their sacrifices on rocks near their respective habitations.

OBSERVATION XXXV.

THE WATER WHICH SAMSON MET WITH, DID NOT SPRING OUT OF THE ASS' JAW BONE.

IT is rather surprising, that men of sense as well as learning, should be so extremely fond of the *marvellous*,

* Page 107, and page 125.

as to suppose the place from whence the water was brought, which quenched the thirst of Samson, the judge of Israel, was a hollow place *in the jaw bone of the ass*, with which he slew a thousand of the Philistines; when the sacred history informs us, that the place of this exploit was on that account denominated *Lehi*, or the *Jaw bone*. All then that this passage of Scripture affirms is, that in the place where Samson then was, and which, from this transaction, he called *Lehi*, or the *Jaw bone*, there was a *hollow place* which GOD clave, from whence a fountain flowed, which relieved Samson when ready to perish, and which continued to yield a considerable supply of water, at the time this sacred book was written, and possibly may flow to this day.

For Monsieur Doubdan, in one single day, when he visited the country about Jerusalem, met with two such places; and his account of them is so picturesque, and tends to give such a pleasing view of that country, that I apprehend my reader will be pleased with his relation of what he observed that day, as to such matters.

On Easter Monday, the first of April, 1652, he set out, he informs us, "with about twenty in company, to visit the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. They went the same road the two disciples are supposed to have taken, when our LORD joined them, of which we read in the 24th of Luke, when he made their hearts to burn within them. A convent was afterward built in the place where our LORD is imagined to have met them. Only some pieces of the walls of free stone are now remaining, with some vaults and half broken arches, and heaps of rubbish, together with a great cistern full of water, derived partly from rain, and partly from the springs in the mountain there, particularly from a most beautiful and transparent fountain, a little above it, which breaks out at the further end of the grotto, naturally hollowed out in the hard rock, and which is over hung with small trees, where they made a considerable stop to refresh themselves. The water

of this spring running by a channel into the cistern, and afterward turning a mill which was just by the cistern, and belonged to the monastery, and from thence flowed, as it still does, into the torrent bed of that valley, from whence David collected the five smooth stones,* of which one proved fatal to Goliah.

Here we see an hollow place, a grotto, in which the God of nature had divided the rock for the passage of the water of a beautiful spring. It was a grotto in Lehi, in which God, on this occasion made the water to gush out, and run in a stream into the adjoining country, where the exhausted warrior stood.

What Doubdan says of that spring's continuing to flow into the bed of the torrent in that valley to this day, at which spring he took his first repast, gives a natural explanation of what the writer of the book of Judges meant, when he says, *Wherefore he called the name thereof*, En-hakkore, *which is in Lehi, unto this day:* that is, which spring continued to flow from that grotto to the day in which he wrote, in contradistinction from some springs which had been known to have been stopped, by some of the many earthquakes which are so frequent in that country, or by some other operation of Providence.†

* Page 91, 92. Particulierement d'une tres-belle et claire fontaine qui est un peu plus haut, dans le fonds d'une grotte naturellement taillée dans une dure roche, ombragée d'arbrisseaux où nous demeurasmes assez longtemps à nous refraischir, &c.

† As has happened in Italy, according to Mr. Addison, in his beautiful letter from that country:

"Sometimes, misguided by the tuneful throng,
I look for streams immortaliz'd in song,
That, lost in silence and oblivion, lie,
Dumb are their fountains, and their channels dry,
Yet run for ever by the Muse's skill,
And in the smooth description murmur still."

The same day pursuing their journey, they came to another fountain, adorned with freestone, and dignified by being named the Fountain of the Apostles, where the way parted, the left hand road leading them to Emmaus, which they visited : then turning back to the Fountain of the Apostles, they took the right hand road, which led them to a village full of cattle and fowls,* by which the inhabitants were greatly enriched, named *Bedon ;* from whence they went to a town called *St. Samuel,* where that Prophet is supposed to have been buried, anciently Rama of Silo : from whence they proceeded to an excellent fountain, called *St. Samuel's,* hollowed out in the heart of a mighty rock, shaded over by small trees, where they stopped to dine, sitting on the grass, in the shade. In taking his repast, he could not but admire the extreme abstemiousness of the Armenian bishops and the Maronite monk, who, though great entreaty was used, would eat nothing but herbs, without salt, without oil, or vinegar, together with bread, and drinking nothing but water, not so much as a single drop of wine, excepting the Maronite, who drank a little, and eat an egg, it being their Lent.†

I admit, that possibly all that the sacred writer meant was, that God cleft an hollow place in the earth, containing a hidden reservoir of water, and which continued to flow, receiving fresh supplies from springs, after an outlet was once made for the discharge of its water ; but the understanding the account as referring to an opening of the earth or rock, in the further end of a cave or

* Which circumstance, was not often to be remarked in the ancient Jewish villages, since little mention is made of fowls in the Old Testament. See vol. iii. p. 145.

† Page 98. Passant un peu plus outre, nous allasmes trouver une excellente fontaine que porte le mesme nom, creusèe dans le cœur d'une puissante roche, ombragèe de petits arbrisseaux, où nous nous arrestasmes pour disner sur l'herbe, à la fraischeur, &c.

grotto, is throwing greater energy into the words: is very amusing to the imagination; and agrees with other instances of that kind in this country, two of which Doubdan met with, in one day, in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem.

OBSERVATION XXXVI.

VINEYARDS RARE, EVEN AMONG CHRISTIANS UNDER THE MOHAMMEDAN GOVERNMENT.

The Mohammedans not only consider themselves as forbidden by their law to drink wine; but their zeal is sometimes so impetuous, as to prevent their Christian and Jewish subjects absolutely from making it, and at other times, of greater relaxation, to throw difficulties in their way, that they are not a little perplexing: it is owing to this that we so seldom meet with any mention made now of vineyards in the Holy Land; and that those that we have an account of, are so slovenly managed.

I was struck with the following account of Monsieur Doubdan. Having visited Emmaus, mentioned Luke xxiv. 13, and returning to Jerusalem, in his way thither, he, at about four miles distance from thence, was shown the *sepulchres of the judges of Israel.* He goes on, "These sepulchres are in a great field planted with vines, which in all this country trail on the ground, very indifferently cultivated. There one sees great and mighty rocks which rise out of the ground, among which there is one, near the wayside, in which is a porch cut out with the chisel, about two toises long, seven or eight feet in breadth, and the same in height. Out of this porch you enter, with a light you are obliged to carry, through a small door embellished with many flowers and morisco-

work, cut out of the same rock, into a large room," &c. going on to describe these ancient sepulchres.*

This is a very unfavourable account of the vineyards of that country in later times, this slovenly mode of cultivation being supposed to be universal there. It might not be so however anciently. Some, indeed, might be left to trail in this manner on the ground, under which the Benjamites might be very well concealed, when they surprised the virgins of Shiloh ;† but those passages of Scripture, that speak of *sitting for pleasure* under their vines, suppose, very evidently, that some of them rose to a considerable height, whether by climbing up trees, twisting themselves about treillages, or being supported merely by stakes.

Doubdan mentions nothing of the vinedressers singing when he travelled through these vineyards: but as the Eastern people are wont to sing in their employments, so St. Jerom supposed those that pruned the vines near Bethlehem, where he lived, were wont to sing in his time when pruning them ;‡ so the Prophet Isaiah distinguishes between the softer singing of those that pruned, and the more noisy mirth of the time of vintage, Isaiah xvi. 10. *Gladness is taken away, and joy out of the plentiful field ; and in the vineyards shall be no singing, neither shall there be shouting : the treaders shall tread out no wine in their presses ; I have made their vintage shouting to cease.*

* Page 98, 99. † Judges xxi. 20, 21.

‡ Quocunque te verteris, arator stivam tenens, alleluia decantat. Sudans messor psalmis se avocat, et *curva attondens vitem falce vinitor*, aliquid Davidicum canit. Hæc sunt in hac provincia carmina. Ep. ad Marcellam. tom. i. p. 127.

OBSERVATION XXXVII.

OF THE MEMORIALS OF THE DEAD IN THE HOLY LAND.

THE *memorials of the dead*, that are now found in Judea, are of different kinds; it seems it was so anciently.

When Doubdan set out to visit the remarkable places of the valley of Jehoshaphat, one of the first things he mentions, was a small place planted with trees, and enclosed with walls, which was the sepulchre of a Moor.* He was afterward conducted to a rock, above ground, which was wrought by the chissel into the form of a little building, with a spire of considerable height, which it seems is an addition to the rock: this too is supposed to be an ancient sepulchre, and the antiquarians of that country assign it to Absalom.† Another sepulchre, hewn in like manner out of an insulated rock, but not with a pyramidal top, is shown as that of Zechariah the son of Barachiah.‡ Between the accounts of these two memorials of the dead, he gives us a description of the burial place of the modern Jews, in which are common graves, like our's, covered with one, two, or three stones, badly polished, and without ornament.

Here we see three different kinds of memorials for the departed: trees, buildings, or what resemble them, and flat grave stones.

A like difference appears to have obtained anciently: Jacob raised a building, or pillar, as it is called in our translation, over the grave of Rachel;‖ it was an oak that

* Page 102. † Page 112. ‡ Page 113.

‖ Gen. xxxv. 20. Whatever kind of erection the original word might signify, that which is shown for it at this time is a building, but it might have been a single stone, though not a tree. Doubdan's account of what is now supposed to be her tomb, is, that it is a large dome of masonry, without any ornament, supported by four large square pillars, which form the same number of arches, and that underneath is a tomb of the same mate-

kept up the remembrance of that place, where the same Jacob buried Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, as we are told in the same chapter.* The tree under which the men of Jabesh buried the bones of king Saul, was selected, being designed, I should suppose, for the same purpose of keeping the exact place of his interment in remembrance.

Probably some mark of distinction was set about these ancient sepulchral trees, as a wall was built round those that formed a memorial for the Moor in the valley of Jehoshaphat, perhaps something of stonework: either three or four single stones pitched round it; or a greater number forming a closer kind of fence. Such obtained among the Greeks of former times, according to Homer in his twentythird Iliad:†

> "Yon aged trunk, a cubit from the ground;
> Of some one stately oak the last remain,
> Or hardy fir unperish'd with the rain,
> Enclos'd with stones, conspicuous from afar,
> And round, a circle for the wheeling car,
> Some tomb perhaps of old the dead to grace," &c.

The mention of Rebecca's nurse leads me to set down a passage in Monsieur Savary's Letters on Egypt, which an inquisitive and ingenious friend communicated to me very lately, in which Savary, speaking of the Egyptian women, and their manner of nursing their children, says, "When circumstances compel them to have recourse to a nurse, she is not looked upon as a stranger. She becomes part of the family, and passes the rest of her life in the midst of the children she has suckled. She is honored and cherished like a second mother."

rials, stone and mortar, made in the fashion of a great old chest, with a roundish lid. The workmanship very coarse. The whole surrounded with a low wall, in which enclosure he observed two other small tombs, of the same shape with the great one. Page 128, 129.

* Ver. 8. † Ver. 327, 328.

So the Syrian nurse continued until her death with Rebecca, and was buried with great solemnity of mourning: since that oak was from that time distinguished by the name of the Oak of Weeping.*

OBSERVATION XXXVIII.

CURIOUS ILLUSTRATION OF HEBREWS xi. 37, 38.

The Epistle to the Hebrews describes some of the ancient sufferers for piety and virtue, as driven out from the society of their countrymen, and wandering about, like miserable outcasts, in deserts and mountains, with no better vestments than sheepskins and goatskins;† referring, probably, to some in the beginning of the opposition made by the Maccabee family, to the attempts of the Syrian princes to force the Jewish people to abandon the religion of their forefathers, and unite with the heathens in their idolatrous customs.‡ It may be acceptable to the reader to learn, that there are numbers of such miserable outcasts from common society, in that very country, to this day: not indeed on a religious account, for they are all Mohammedans; but from national prejudices, and distinctions arising from that source.

Doubdan frequently met with such in his peregrinations in that country. He sometimes calls them Moors, by which, I apprehend, is meant the descendants from

* The mourning for Jacob, the head of the family, was kept in remembrance in much the same way, occasioning Atad's threshingfloor to be denominated *Abel Mizraim*, the mourning of the Egyptians. Gen. i. 10, 11.

† Ch. xi. 37, 38. *They wandered about in sheepskins, and goatskins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented; of whom the world was not worthy: they wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth.*

‡ 1 Maccab. ii. 28, 29, 30. It appears by a clause in the last of those verses, that they had their cattle with them, from whence their miserable clothing seems to have been derived.

the old natives of that country, who inhabited it before the Turks, a branch of the Tartars, overran these parts of Asia. Some of the Arabs he met with are not described as in more elegant circumstances: these are another Eastern nation, who are attached to the living in tents, and will by no means be induced to dwell in more fixed habitations, and commonly dwell in deserts, and very retired places.

Upon leaving Jerusalem, in order to embark at Joppa, they halted some little time on a short plain, not far from the Holy City, to give time to the caravan to assemble, with which they were to travel: while waiting there, he says, "we saw six Bedouins pass along," he means these wandering Arabs, "who had no other clothing than a sheepskin on their shoulders, and a rag about their loins, emaciated and burnt up with the heat, of a horrible aspect, their eyes fiery, and each with a great club. These people are Arabs, and the greatest robbers in all the country."*

He describes some of the Moors in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, who live in the village where the shepherds dwelt to whom the angel of the LORD appeared, according to the tradition of the country, in much the same manner. He says, "it is a poor hamlet, of twenty or twentyfive hovels." That he was informed "its inhabitants are some of the poorest and most miserable people of the country. That they saw some who looked like true savages, almost entirely naked, sunburnt, black as a coal, and shining with the grease and oil with which they rub themselves, horrid in their countenances, with a surly voice, with which they keep mumbling, and terrify those that are not accustomed to meet them. More especially when, upon their going to visit a certain place to which their devotion led them, they saw four poor miserable Moors running to them across the fields, huge, frightful creatures, all of them naked and sunburnt, two

* Page 438.

armed with bows and arrows, the other two with cudgels, threatening to use them with severity, if they did not give them money."*

The same scenery is exhibited in other places, and represents, I imagine, excepting the violence, an accurate picture of those poor persecuted Hebrews, who wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins, destitute of many of the comforts of life, emaciated, tormented with the burning heat of the sun, and afflicted with many other bitternesses in that wild and rough state.

OBSERVATION XXXIX.

OF THE MIDIANITES OR ISHMAELITES, TO WHOM JOSEPH WAS SOLD.

Learned men seem to have given themselves uneasiness, very unnecessarily, about the caravan to which Joseph was sold, which company of people are sometimes called Ishmaelites, sometimes Midianites:† had the account been given us by two different writers, and one had said Joseph was sold to some Ishmaelites, and the other to some Midianites, it might have been said there was a contradiction between them; but as one and the same writer, in the same paragraph, and even in the same verse makes use of these two different names, it is apparent that they were to him indifferent. I would add, that probably those that in the age in which this book was written, travelled over the deserts, to or through Judea, with camels, were called, in a loose and general way, Ishmaelites, and that when they came up with the sons of Jacob, they were found of that particular tribe called Midianites.

I am very sensible that, according to the book of Genesis, Midian was a son of Abraham by Keturah, Gen.

* Page 145, 146.

† Gen. xxxvii. Three times they are called Ishmaelites, ver. 26, 27, 28; and once Midianites, ver. 28.

xxv. 2, consequently his descendants were not Ishmaelites; but as the several tribes of the Ishmaelites, and those descended from Keturah, all dwelt in the East country,* that is in Arabia Petræa or Deserta, they might, by the time this book was written, come to be considered as one body of people, under the common name of Ishmaelites, as the several tribes of Israel came afterward to be denominated Jews, though the tribe of Judah was but one out of twelve or thirteen different tribes that descended from Jacob.†

It is certain that, according to d'Herbelot, the Arabs of later times have considered themselves as Ishmaelites, Voy. art. Ismaelioun, and call Ishmael the father of their nation, art. Ismael, fils d'Abraham, though there are many tribes of the Arabs who are not Ishmaelites properly speaking, being descended from Joctan the son of Heber, according to d'Herbelot. The Oriental writers, by a mistake indeed, suppose Midian was the grandson of Abraham by his son Ishmael, instead of being his son by Keturah, but a very easy one, as all the Arab tribes acknowledge Ishmael as their father, though many of them are not descended from him.

D'Herbelot further informs us, that the Mussulmans suppose that the Arabs that travel about with their merchandise took different roads, according to the different seasons: Gaza, in the confines between Syria and Egypt, being their mart in summer time, on account of the freshness of the air to be enjoyed in Syria; whereas they went to the southern parts of Arabia, or Yemen, in winter, the heat being excessive there, in the opposite part of the year. This, according to them, was an old establishment among them, Haschem, the grandfather of Mohammed, dying at Gaza, in one of these summer commercial journies.‡

* Ch. xxv. 6.

† So Holland, in our time, often means all the seven confederated provinces, though, strictly speaking, it is the name only of one of them.

‡ Art. Gazza.

If this account may be depended on, Joseph was sold to the Midianites some time in the summer;* and these Ishmaelites are not to be understood to have personally conveyed him into Egypt, but stopping at Gaza, to dispose of him there to Egyptian merchants. This last might not be exactly the case; but would not, however, I apprehend, be inconsistent with the sacred history, understood in that lax and popular manner in which we may believe it was designed to be considered.

OBSERVATION XL.

MANNER OF CARRYING THEIR CHILDREN IN THE EAST.

Pitts says,† the Algerines never take either apprentices or hired servants, but "such as have occasion for servants, buy slaves,‡ and bring them up to their household work, as our servant maids are here in England; who, as soon as they have done up all their work in the house, are usually allowed the liberty to go abroad and visit their countrymen, commonly bearing each a child with them; and if the child be a boy, it rides on the slave's shoulders.‖

Was the custom anciently the reverse of this? So it might be imagined from Is. xlix. 22: *They shall bring thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried*

* Which appears to have been the fact from other considerations: the feeding the flock at such a distance from home; and the dryness of the pit into which they let him down.

† Gen. xii. 10. ‡ Page 68.

‖ Sir John Chardin observes, in his MS. note on Gen. xxix. 24, that none but very poor people marry a daughter, in the East, without giving her a female slave for a chambermaid; there being no hired servants there, as in Europe. He says much the same in another note on Tobit x. 10. Agreeably to this we find Laban, upon marrying his daughter, gave each of them a female slave. So Solomon supposes they were extremely poor that had not a servant, Prov. xii. 9. An attention to this circumstance is requisite to enter into the strength of that passage.

upon their shoulders. Nevertheless, I am persuaded this is not true; but if they anciently made a difference in the manner of carrying children, as the Algerines seem to do now, the same custom obtained also then. Nor do these words of Isaiah contradict this. The Algerine manner of carrying the boys, may be well enough expressed by "they shall bring thy sons in their bosom," as the word is translated in the margin, their legs hanging down in their bosoms; and if the Prophet designed to represent their daughters as carried in the way children usually are with us, he might express himself in the manner he does, children so carried often looking over the shoulder, and leaning their arms upon it.

This observation of Pitts will enable us to form a judgment of Vitringa's comment on this passage, who in general is a very accurate writer. "Not," says he, "that they were carried properly on the shoulders, which would be very incommoding to the person carrying, and to those that were carried: but they are said to be carried on the shoulders, because they are supported by the arms which hang from the shoulders, in which also their strength lies." It is evident, from the practice at Algiers, that the posture in question is not so incommoding to a slave in the Levant, as this explanation would suppose it to be.*

OBSERVATION XLI.

THE OFFICE OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN AMONG THE ALGERINES.

THESE slaves, according to Pitts,† do the work of maid servants. The labour, enjoined the Gibeonites, was also what females were wont to perform, and do to this day.

* Dr. Russell asserts, vol. i. p. 441, that the children who are able to support themselves, are usually carried astride on the shoulder; but in infancy they are carried in the arms, or awkwardly on one haunch. EDIT.

† Page 54.

Shaw mentions,* the going out of the women in the evening to fetch water, as still the custom of the Arabs of Barbary; and cites Gen. xxiv. 11, to prove it was the custom anciently; to which he might have added 1 Sam. ix. 11, John iv. 7. The author of the Piratical States of Barbary assures us also, that they cut the fuel. "The care of the cattle," speaking of the Arabs of the kingdom of Algiers, "belongs to the women and children; they also provide food for their family, cut fuel, fetch water, and, when their domestic affairs allow them, tend their silk worms."† D'Arvieux, in like manner, represents the daughters of the Turcomen of Palestina, as fetching wood as well as water.‡

As the women of these countries cut fuel now as well as fetch water, we may believe they did so formerly, and that they are both equally ancient customs. This supposition is confirmed very much by Jer. vii. 11, and Lam. v. 13, which speak of the children's fetching *wood*: The *young* women.

The bitterness then of the doom of the Gibeonites, does not seem to have consisted in the laboriousness of the service enjoined them, which had been commonly understood to be the case; for it was usual for the women and children to perform what was required of the Gibeonites; but its degrading them from the characteristic employment of men, that of bearing arms, and condemning them, and their posterity for ever, to the employment of females. The not receiving them as allies was bitter; the disarming them who had been warriors, and condemning them to the employment of females, was worse; but the extending this degradation to their posterity, bitterest of all. It is no wonder, that in these circumstances they are said to have been cursed, Josh. ix. 23.

* Page 241. † Page 47.

‡ Voy. dans la Pal. par la Roque, p. 230.

OBSERVATION XLII.

SLAVES USED WITH GREAT KINDNESS IN THE EAST.

THE usages of the East differ very much from those of the West, with relation to the more than kind treatment of their servants; but they perfectly agree with those that are referred to in the Scriptures. How far these have been taken notice of in explaining passages of Holy Writ I do not know; but I believe the gathering up together, and presenting them in one view to my reader, will be a sort of novelty.

They marry their slaves frequently to their daughters, and that when they have no male issue, and those daughters are what we call great fortunes. That Hassan, of whom Maillet gives a long account in his eleventh letter, and who was Kiaia of the Asaphs of Cairo, that is to say, the Colonel of four or five thousand men who go under that name, was the slave of a predecessor in that office, the famous Kamel, and married his daughter: "for Kamel," says he, "according to the custom of the country, gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and left him, at his death, one part of the great riches he had amassed together in the course of a long and prosperous life."* What Sheshan then did, was perhaps not so extraordinary as we may have imagined, but perfectly conformable to old Eastern customs, if not to the arrangements of Moses;† at least it is, we see, just the same with what is now practised: *Now Sheshan had no sons, but daughters: and Sheshan had a servant an Egyptian, whose name was Jarha, and Sheshan gave his daughter to Jarha his servant to wife, and she bare him Attai.* 1 Chron. ii. 34, 35.

* Lett. 11, p. 118. † Num. xxxvi. seems not to favour this practice.

If they have no children at all, the rich people of Barbary purchase young slaves, educate them in their own faith, and sometimes adopt them for their own children, according to the author of the History of the Piratical States of that country.* Relations among us would think this a cruel hardship, would often pronounce it unjust; but the people of the East seem always to have had these ideas: *One born in mine house is mine heir*, said Abraham,† speaking of a slave that he had, born of some female slave, though he had brother's children and grandchildren, if not a brother, in Mesopotamia, Gen. xxii. 20—24.

Young slaves, under twelve years of age, according to the author of the History of the Piratical States, are the only objects of their master's religious care; and he contradicts the stories of their compelling Christian slaves to turn Mohammedans; but as to these young slaves, he acknowledges that they value themselves highly on making such good Mussulmans, and consider it as a most meritorious act in the sight of God:‡ and every one that is conversant with the affairs of the Levant knows how successful these cares prove; scarce any but what by this means have been fixed in their faith. Even where a master's religion differs from that which is established in a country, this way of educating their slaves has a great effect upon them. Thus Maillet tells us, the Jews as well as Christians, are permitted in Egypt to have black slaves, but do not carry them out of the country, lest they should oblige their slaves to change their religion; but notwithstanding this precaution, he informs us, that the greatest part of these blacks follow, though in secret, the religion of their masters.|| On the same principle, the efficacy of education, Abraham, who professed a religion different from that of the people among whom he dwelt, was directed to circumcise his servants, as well as his children; and baptism was afterward administered with

* Page 70, 71. † Gen. xv. 3. ‡ Page 71. || Lett. 12, p. 175.

the same latitude, and we have reason to think on the same principle.

In the same letter Maillet speaks of the rising of these slaves sometimes to the highest posts in the state; and that there was an eunuch at Cairo, when he resided there, who had made three Beys, three of the princes of that country that is, from among his slaves; and he gives an account of another Bey, who had at one time five or six of his slaves Beys like himself. What is more, the greatest men of the Ottomon empire are well known to have been originally slaves, brought up in the seraglio.* This may appear very strange to us Europeans, and more so to our American settlers. Our governments there have sometimes received great services from their slaves; but they never thought of any thing more than giving them their freedom, and some little pecuniary gratifications, and believed them amply repaid. Nevertheless, these facts are incontestable; and the most incredible accounts of Scripture relating to this subject, such as the advancement of Joseph to be viceroy of Egypt, and Daniel, another Hebrew slave, to be a chief minister of State in Babylon, have nothing in them dissonant from the modern usages of the East. What is more than any thing mentioned in Holy Writ, the Mameluke kings of Egypt themselves are well known to have been originally slaves, as amply appears in the collection of Monsieur d'Herbelot.

OBSERVATION XLIII.

SLAVES OFTEN SOLD AT A CHEAP RATE.

Much respected as slaves are in the East, they are sometimes purchased at a very low price.

The prophet Joel complains of the contemptuous cheapness in which the Israelites were held by those that made

* Thevenot, part 1, p. 25.

them captives, ch. iii. 3. *They have cast lots for my people, and have given a boy for an harlot, and sold a girl for wine, that they might drink.*

The illustration of the MS. C. gives of this passage, has something painfully instructive in it, and my readers will not, perhaps, be displeased with me for communicating it to them. "The Tartars, Turks, and Cosaques, sell the children sometimes as cheap which they take. Not only has this been done in Asia, where examples of it are frequent; our Europe has seen such desolations. When the Tartars came into Poland, they carried off all they were able; this was in opposition to the king of Sweden, Gustavus the Second. I went thither some years after. Many persons of the court assured me that the Tartars, perceiving that they would no more redeem those that they had carried off, sold them for a crown, and that they had purchased them for that sum. In Mingrelia they sell them for provisions and for wine: this is most true." How terrible these ravages, the tearing children from their parents, and selling these dear objects of parental affection for a crown a piece, for a little victuals, or a little wine, and separating them from their parents for ever! How just the expression of the divine displeasure against contemptuous treatment of a people sacred to JEHOVAH!

OBSERVATION XLIV.

OF THE SHOES AND SLIPPERS WORN IN THE EAST.

As there appear remains in the East of the most ancient way in which people were shod, so it seems the most magnificent modern coverings of the foot there, are of great antiquity.

According to Rauwolff,* the Arabs of the desert when they "are not able to buy shoes, take instead of them,

* Page 157.

necks of undressed skins, and put them about their feet with the hair outwards, and so tie or lace them up." People could not be shod, I think, in a more simple manner than this; and consequently we may believe it to be the most ancient way of all.

Not very remote from this, is Sir J. Chardin's account in his MS. who, after describing sandals in a note on Acts xii. 1, adds, "Poor people of the East go shod after this manner." How different the treatment of St. Peter's feet, from that of the toes of his imaginary successors!

Rich people in those countries wear socks and slippers of red or yellow Morocco. They are red, or yellow, according to their quality, if Thevenot's account be just.* And as yellow is the common colour,† the red must be their most magnificent covering for their feet.‡ Agreeably to this, we find Bishop Pococke making a present of a pair of red shoes such as they wear, with some other things, to the great Sheekh of Cous;‖ and in another place mentions red shoes, as one species of goods he prepared for making presents, when he designed going into Upper Egypt.§

Dying leather appears to have been in use in the time of Moses.¶ And since what we translate badger's skins are mentioned by the Prophet Ezekiel, as a most magnificent covering for the feet, ch. xvi. 10, and red Morocco leather seems to be understood to be such now, I should

* Part 1, p. 30.

† D'Arvieux mentions yellow leather only, in his account of the socks, slippers, and boots of the Arabs. Voy. dans la Pal. chap. xvi.

‡ Unless we suppose Lady M. W. Montague's description of her dress, forms an exception, who tells us her shoes were of white kid leather, embroidered with gold. Lett. v. ii. p. 28. Whether this was a peculiarity, or used by other ladies in the East now, I am not able to say; all other accounts which I have seen, so far as I at present remember, speak of nothing used by the Eastern people more magnificent than red Morocco shoes.

‖ Vol. i. p. 20. § Page 68. ¶ Exod. xxv. 5, &c.

suppose beautiful red leather was what Ezekiel meant there, whether made of the skin of a badger, or of some other quadruped.

I do not recollect the having read any account in modern travellers of badgers found in Egypt, or in the adjoining countries, from whence we might suppose their skins brought to Egypt. Dr. Shaw, I remember, expressly tells us he could not hear of any found in Barbary.* Their skins are however sometimes tanned in England; and a gentleman of considerable fortune in that way of business has informed me, "they use them for the upper and more pliable part of the shoes, and, so far as he knows, for no other purpose; that this leather is not so liable, when exposed to wet and dry, to harden and crack in the grain as some other kinds, and is more durable than any other leather of the same substance that we tan. To which he unexpectedly added, that the grain of the skin resembles the Turkey leather used about books."

It appears by an account of the process for preparing red and yellow Morocco skins, communicated by an Asiatic to the Society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, and published in the first volume of Dossie's Memoirs, that the skins they make use of are grained on a board prepared for that purpose, which I suppose must have been at first done, to make these skins resemble the more uncommon skins which were highest in esteem, and which naturally appeared with such a kind of grain. I cannot otherwise account for the invention.

This substitution of more common skins, for the more valuable skins of this other animal, seems to have been very ancient, since Moses speaks† of ram skins dyed red, as those which we translate badger skins, I presume, also were; and these less valuable skins were ordered I should imagine, as it was not to be expected that a sufficient

* Page 174. † Exod. xxv. 5, &c.

number of the other, to make the whole covering for the tabernacle, was to be found in the camp of Israel.

Whether the skin of the *dubbah*, or hyæna, is naturally grained like Turkey leather, I am not able to say: but Dr. Shaw informs us, that it is of the badger kind, and that it inhabits those countries.* But whatever skin Moses refers to, it was, I am ready to persuade myself, a kind that was naturally grained, and of which the red Morocco leather is an imitation.

OBSERVATION XLIV.

THE EASTERNS FREQUENTLY WASH THEIR FEET, AND REASON OF IT.

THE necessity for washing the feet in the East has been attributed to their wearing sandals; but it is very requisite, according to Sir John Chardin,† let the covering of the feet be of what kind it will.

"Those that travel in the hot countries of the East," he tells us, "such as Arabia is, begin, at their arriving at the end of their journey, with pulling off the coverings of their feet. The sweat and the dust, which penetrate all sorts of coverings for the feet, produce a filth there, which excites a very troublesome itching. And though the Eastern people are extremely careful to preserve the body neat, it is more for refreshment than cleanliness, that they wash their feet at the close of their journey."

According to d'Arvieux, the little yellow Morocco boots, worn by the Arabs, which are made very light, so as that they may walk in them afoot, and even run in them, are yet so tight as not to be penetrated by water;‡ but none of the Eastern coverings for the foot, it seems, can guard against the dust; consequently this custom of washing the feet is not to be merely ascribed to their use

* Page 173, 174. † MS. vol. 6. ‡ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 209.

of sandals: a circumstance that has not, I think, been attended to, and which therefore claims a place in these papers.

OBSERVATION XLV.

GREAT COSTLINESS OF THE FEMALES' DRESS IN THE EAST.

Dr. Shaw has given us an account, at considerable length, of the dress of the Moorish ladies;* there are some things however he has passed over in silence, which appear to me worth setting down: and as I have had no opportunity of introducing them before, I will give them a place here.

The first thing I would take notice of relating to this matter, is the great costliness of the Eastern female dress of persons of distinction. Maillet tells us, that the dress of the Egyptian ladies is much more rich and magnificent, than any thing of that kind among us. That it consists of a quantity of pearls, precious stones, costly furs, and other things of value. That their shifts alone come to six or seven pistoles. In one word, that three young ladies of France, might be handsomely dressed for the same sum that a common habit comes to in Egypt.†

Few people, I fancy, look upon the costly array of the Levant, mentioned by St. Paul, 1 Tim. ii. 9, in so strong a light as this author has set it; though the Apostle does mention pearls, as Maillet does.

One would hardly have expected, that the vanity we generally ascribe to the French, would have suffered one of that nation to allow this superiority of Eastern dress, in point of richness, to that of his own countrywomen; but what is more, he seems to allow it to be better fancied. "Their apparel has always something grand and majestic," he had been speaking of two kinds of it in use there, one

* Page 228. † Lett. xi. p. 112.

the Egyptian properly speaking, the other the Turkish, the women making use of the one, or the other, as best suited their views, and making their choice with great judgment, "their head dress is noble and enchanting; in a word there is nothing more free and engaging, than the slight dress in which they often appear."*

This is not the only author of that country, I believe, that has discovered how deeply he has been struck with the habits of the Levant. If I remember right, Tournefort talks in something of the same strain, when he is describing the dress of the ladies in some of the islands of the Archipelago. If we cannot trust our own invention, and must servilely copy after other nations, would it not be right for the British ladies, rather to fetch their models from the East than from Paris? It certainly would, if any deference is due in these matters to the judgment of the French themselves.

OBSERVATION XLVI.

OF PLAITING THE HAIR IN THE EAST.

THERE is one particular the Apostle mentions in this passage, which requires a distinct consideration, the *plaiting the hair*, which Dr. Shaw, from 1 Pet. iii. 3, roundly supposes, is disapproved of in the Scriptures;† but which I cannot believe the Apostle designed absolutely to prohibit, though I am disposed to pay great deference to the opinion of the doctor.

It is a way of adorning themselves that was practised in the East anciently, and still continues to be the common usage of those countries. Shaw speaks of it as used now in Barbary, and says, the Moorish ladies all affect this way of disposing of their hair. The editor of the

* Page 113. † II. 228.

Ruins of Palmyra found that it anciently obtained there, for they discovered with great surprise, mummies in the Palmyrene sepulchres embalmed after the ancient Egyptian manner, by which means the bodies were in such a state of preservation, that among other fragments they carried off with them, was the hair of a female, plaited exactly after the manner commonly used by the Arabian women at this time.* It is now universally used among the Moorish women: it is the Arab way of adorning themselves; and it seems to have been as common anciently, from what was found in the sepulchres of Palmyra, and from the way in which St. Peter and St. Paul† have mentioned this circumstance. It was a general way of ornamenting themselves, and at the same time, one would think, as little contradictory to the laws of decency and frugality, as any thing belonging to female adorning, and therefore as little liable to an apostolic prohibition. Would not the prohibition then, the absolute prohibition of a practice so general, and at the same time so innocent, savour more of the spirit of superstition than of an Apostle?

The passage in St. Peter, which the doctor cites, will admit an easy interpretation, that the female disciples of CHRIST should make their adorning consist in a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of GOD of great value, rather than in plaiting the hair, wearing of gold, or putting on any of the ornaments of Eastern dress: for there is no absolute prohibition of these external ornaments. But the other passage, that of St. Paul, seems to be otherwise, though interpreters are willing to understand it in the same sense. *I will therefore that men pray every where, lifting up holy hands, without wrath and doubting. In like manner, that women adorn themselves . . . not with broidered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array.* The absurdity of supposing the Apostle absolutely forbad them the plaiting their hair, and

* Page 22, 23. † 1 Tim. ii. 9.

wearing of gold, not only the Moorish beautiful Sarmah,* but the least particle of gold in any form whatsoever,† has forced them into this, but they have not shown, so satisfactorily as could have been wished, how the wearing these things is inconsistent with the words of the Apostle.

The solution of the difficulty must arise, I apprehend, from the applying the words, "In like manner also," not to the "I will," of the Apostle, *In like manner I will that women adorn not themselves with broidered hair*, &c. but to the latter part of the verse, that is, to the men's *praying without wrath and disputing*, as the word signifies, and as it is translated Phil. ii. 14. St. Paul charging them, I apprehend, not to have any anger or dispute, about the honor of being placed in the chief seats in their religious assemblies;‡ in like manner he willed and enjoined, that the women should behave there so as not to occasion wrath and disputing, not adorning themselves, so as to vie with each other in dress, or distinguishing themselves by a pert asking of questions, but with great humility, learning in silence, and dressing themselves as the most moderate people of their rank were wont to do, making good works their glory.

OBSERVATION XLVII.

OF THE FEMALE ORNAMENTS MENTIONED BY ISAIAH, CHAP. iii.

It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to give a sure explanation of all the female ornaments mentioned in the

* See Shaw, p. 229.

† Consequences that Dr. Shaw certainly did not attend to, when he supposed the Scriptures disapproved this braiding the hair. Had he been the Apostle of the Palmyrenes, he would, without doubt, have thought more maturely about it.

‡ James ii. 1—4. Matth. xxiii. 6.

third of Isaiah. The present dress of the Eastern ladies will not perfectly determine it: we cannot tell what changes have happened; and some of them are equivocal.

Rauwolff, in particular, tells us, that the Arab women, whom he saw in his going down the Euphrates, wore rings about their legs and hands, and sometimes a good many together, which in their stepping slipped up and down, and so made a great noise.* One might have imagined, these were the tinkling ornaments mentioned by the Prophet; but Pitts, observing that the women of pleasure at Cairo wore their hair in tresses behind, reaching down to their very heels, with little bells, or some such things, at the end, which swung against their heels, and made a tinkling sound as they went, was naturally enough led to think of this passage, and to imagine that Isaiah might refer to them.† Some of them then are indeterminate, and their description equivocal.

Every part however of the 24th verse is not equally uncertain: and Maillet's observation, that "the Egyptian women carry their delicacy so far, that, to prevent sweat, and the contracting ill smells thereby, they wear nothing in their houses and often in the streets, but their shifts and a pair of linen drawers; besides which care, none use baths, odoriferous waters, and perfumes more frequently than they do, or time the application of things better,"‡ explains with the utmost clearness the first

* Page 157. Sir J. Chardin's account in one of his manuscripts differs a little: he supposes they have actually little bells fastened to those rings which they wear about their legs, and which make a tinkling sound. In Persia, he says, "and in Arabia, and in very hot countries where they go in common without stockings, and they go so in the Indies, and only in shoes, they wear rings about their ankles, which are full of little bells. Children and young girls take a particular pleasure in giving them motion: with this view they walk quick." The tinkling sound of little bells could not be thought meanly of among the Israelitish women, whether they were in fact used by them, or not, since little bells were fastened to a part of the dress of the High-Priest of GOD himself.

† Page 99, 100. ‡ Let. 11, p. 112.

clause, "instead of sweet smell, there shall be stink." The fatigues they shall undergo, shall produce copious sweats, and they shall have no means to remove their disagreeable effects: for though Maillet is speaking of Egyptian women, and the Prophet of Israelitish, the methods of preserving neatness, and rendering themselves agreeable, were without doubt, in general much the same.

Vitringa* indeed explains this clause of a medicinal balsam, that was of an healing nature, instead of which he supposes the Prophet threatens they should labour under a corruption of the flesh; but when my reader considers that Isaiah is not speaking of the precious drugs they were able to command, in their prosperous state, to cure diseases, but of their arts of allurement, he will find I believe, no great difficulty in determining which is the most natural explanation.

Women, in the deep mourning of captivity, anciently shaved off their hair, Deut. xxi. 12, 13.† At least in distress it was dishevelled, in which manner the weeping penitent seems to have presented herself unto our LORD, Luke vii. 38, 44. Something like this still obtains among the Eastern women: in Egypt, in particular, Maillet tells us, that the women that attend a corpse to the grave, generally have their hair hanging loose about their ears.‡ On the contrary, we find by Dr. Shaw, when they would adorn themselves, they collect their hair into one lock, binding and plaiting it with ribands; and if nature has been less liberal to them, they supply the defect by art, and interweave foreign hair.‖ As the first observation will account for the baldness Isaiah ascribes to the captive daughters of Zion; so the last will explain, I imagine, their contrary appearance in the days of their pros-

* In loc.

† According to some interpreters. See Ainsworth's Commentary on the passage.

‡ Let. 10, p. 89. ‖ Page 228, 229.

perity, which our translator of this passage renders *well set hair;* but the original word* signifies something that is solid or heavy, and therefore must here signify hair made heavy or solid, which is now done by interweaving it with ribands and foreign hair.

But whether this be allowed or not, the word, when applied to the Cherubs over the Mercy seat, and to the Candlestick in the Tabernacle, apparently signifies, as Oleaster understands it,† *heavy*, or *solid*, not overlaid with gold that is, but of solid gold, and perhaps not hollowed in the least. And I am at a loss to account for it, I confess, how it should come to be translated *beaten gold*, as if they were to be formed by the hammer alone into the prescribed shape, in an age that understood the art of making images of metal by moulds.

It may not be amiss to add, that it is another Hebrew word שחוט *shachut*, that is translated *beaten*, 1 Kings x. 15, 2 Chron. ix. 16, where our version speaks of *targets and shields of beaten gold.*

* The original words are מעשה מקשה קרחה *maaseh miksheh karechah*, which Montanus thus translates, *pro opere Calamistri calvitium;* "baldness instead of the work of the curling tongs." How the whole passage was understood by our ancestors, the reader will see in the following translation, which I have taken from an ancient MS. Bible, evidently prior to the time of *Wickliff:*

And the Lord God seide for that, that arerid ben the daughteris of Syon, and thei wenten with a strigt out neck, and in beckis of eeyen geeden, and clappeden with hondis for joye and geeden: and with theire feet in curyous goyng geeden. The Lord schal fulli make ballid the tops of the doughtris of Syon, and the Lord the her of hem schal naken, and for ournemente schal be schenschip; in that day the Lord schal don awey the ournement of schoon, and boosis, and beegis, and brochis and armcerclis and mytris and coombis, and rybanys, and rensis at the hemmys and oynment boxis and ereringis and ringis and femmys in the frount hongynge and chaunginge clothis, and litil pallis, and scheetis, and pynnys, and schewers and necke kerchenys and fyletis and roketis; and ther schal be for swot smel, stynke; and for gyrdil a littil coord: and for crisp her ballidness; and for the brest boond, an heyr (cloth.) Isai. iii. 16—24. See also Russell's History of Aleppo, vol. i. p. 107. EDIT.

† Vide Poli. Syn. in Exod. xxv. 2, 8.

As to the thought of Vitringa, who supposed it refers to the *powdering their hair with gold dust*, I cannot help looking upon it to be a little extravagant. The practice of some of the most expensive of the Roman Emperors, can hardly be admitted to be a proper illustration of Eastern finery, and especially of the manner in which private persons, of a kingdom not very opulent, adorned themselves.

OBSERVATION XLVIII.

OF THE NOSE JEWELS USED BY THE WOMEN IN THE EAST.

I BEGAN the last Observation with taking notice how difficult it must be, if not impossible, to determine the several particulars of the finery of old of the Eastern ladies: Sir J. Chardin, however seems to have determined one point about which commentators have been very dubious, and that is, that *nose jewels* are much more probably referred to in some of the sacred writings, than *jewels for the forehead*.

The Cambridge Concordance marks out only one place in which *nose jewels* are expressly mentioned, which is Is. iii. 21.

How נומי האף *nizmee haaph*, came to be translated *nose jewels* there I do not know, since our translators seem carefully to have avoided, elsewhere, the exciting the idea of an ornament worn in the nose: thus they have rendered Ezek. xvi. 12, *And I put a jewel on thy forehead*, instead of *on thy nose;* and Gen. xxiv. 47, *I put the ear ring upon her face*, instead of, *I put the ring on her nose*. In the twentysecond verse they had rendered it *ear ring*, but, apprehensive that might be wrong, they translate it in the margin, *jewel for the forehead*.

Nezems were certainly worn in their ears, as appears from Gen. xxxv. 4, Exod. xxxii. 2, 3; they were also

worn upon the face, either the nose, or elsewhere. By being worn in the ears, one would imagine them to have been rings, or something of that kind ; if they were, they do not seem naturally applicable to any part of the face, but the nostril: this however is so remote from the imagination of males as well as females in Europe, that the learned are disposed to imagine the Nezem, when not worn in the ear, was worn some how on the forehead, and perhaps hung down over the nose. "*A golden ear ring*, or rather, as the margin has it, *a jewel for the forehead*," says Bishop Patrick on Gen. xxiv. 22; "For such ornaments were used in those times and countries, hanging down between the eyebrows, over the nose."

Let us now see what the notions of the East are, of which Sir J. Chardin has given a large account in vol. vi. of his MSS. "The import of the Vulgar Latin translation, says this gentleman, is, I have put ear rings upon her to adorn her face. The modern Bibles, such as that of Diodaty and others, translate it, conformably to the Arabic and Persian versions,* I put the ring upon her nose. It is the custom, in almost all the East, for the women to wear rings in their noses, in the left† nostril, which is bored low down in the middle. These rings are of gold,‡ and have commonly two pearls and one ruby between, placed in the ring, I never saw a girl, or young woman, in Arabia,‖ or in all Persia who did not wear a ring after this manner in her nostril. It is without doubt of such a ring that we are to understand what is said in this

* *Persian* version ! and of *Ezekiel* too ! Where is this to be found ? Neither in the *East*, nor in the *West*. The five books of Moses, and the four Evangelists, are all that is extant in the *Persian* language. EDIT.

† Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain gives the same account, of its being the left nostril in which the nose jewels are worn in the East Indies, p. 412.

‡ Made, he tells us, in the margin, of gold wire, a little thicker than that of the ear rings worn in France.

‖ It is to be observed this writer uses the name Arabia in a very large sense, comprehending in it, at least sometimes, Judea, besides other countries not usually included in that term.

verse,* and not of those Diodorus speaks of, and which he says the women attached to their foreheads, and let them hang down upon their noses. I have never seen or heard speak of any such thing in all Asia. The women of condition there, indeed wear jewels on their foreheads, but it is a crotchet, like those worn in France in the beginning of the seventeenth century, to which they hung on three or five bobs; but these jewels do not descend lower than the forehead. I have many times seen at Babylon, and in the neighbouring countries, women with their ornaments, and have always seen these rings in their nostrils. I have seen some of them with pearls from . . . to twenty-four grains, among the jewels of the greatest princesses of Persia; but nothing like the rings mentioned by Diodorus. We ought also to understand Is. iii. 21, and Ezek. xvi. 12, of these nose jewels; and to look upon this custom of boring the nostrils of the women as one of the most ancient in the world."

The learned and ingenious Mr. Lowth, in his Commentary on Isaiah,† appears to be of a different opinion from Bishop Patrick. He supposes the word there rendered *nose jewels* might be translated *jewels for the face* or *forehead*, but that the same phrase is used Prov. xi. 22, where it certainly signifies a *nose jewel;* and then cites St. Austin, to prove that it was the custom of the women in Mauritania, to hang jewels in the nose; and Harris's Collection of Travels, to assure us the same custom is still observed in Persia and Arabia, and other countries.

This is very sensible: the mind, notwithstanding, may have been held in suspense between these two sentiments; but the authority of Sir J. Chardin determines it at once, as far as such a thing can be determined: he every where saw nose jewels, never rings for the forehead, or any thing like them.

* Gen. xxiv. 47. † Ch. iii. 21.

* He has given us the satisfaction of knowing what they now commonly are; a ring of gold, with a ruby between two pearls. He has shown us how it is worn upon the nose, it is done by piercing the nostril. And he has taught us why a single ornament of this kind is spoken of, when there are two nostrils, for he informs us they only wear it in one, and that is the left nostril.*

The authority of Sir J. Chardin is the more decisive, as he had large concerns in the jewel way, and therefore was more led to observe matters of this kind than other travellers. There will remain, I imagine, after this, no doubt of the nature of the jewel of half a skekel given to Rebecca, or what we are to understand by those passages of Isaiah, Ezekiel, and the Proverbs, which have been mentioned under this Observation. Other writers have mentioned this ornament, but none so determinately, or with such exact description, as Sir John.

OBSERVATION XLIX.

OF THE EAR RINGS MENTIONED IN SCRIPTURE.

THERE are two words used in the Scriptures which apparently signify ear rings,† נזם *nezem* and עגיל *a geel*: and Sir J. Chardin observed two sorts of ear rings worn in his time in the East, whose account, therefore, may

* Dr. Russell describes the women of some of the villages about Aleppo, and all the Arabs and Chinganas, a sort of gypsies, as wearing a large ring of silver or gold, through the external cartilage of their right nostril, Hist. of Aleppo, vol. 1, chap. 1. Only in one nostril then, though, according to him, the right Egmont and Heyman, in like manner, describe this ring as worn by the Egyptian women in their right nostril: and say it is a small one, vol. ii. p. 85. Whether it is worn in the left nostril in some places of the East, and in the right, in others; or whether there is some inaccuracy in the observers, I am not able to say; happily it is of no importance. Instead of a ruby, it was a piece of coral, which these last mentioned travellers saw used in the nose jewels of Egypt.

† Both are expressly described as ornaments belonging to the ear, the first in Exod. xxxii. 2, and the second, Ezek. xvi. 12.

furnish us with some idea what these different words might mean, perhaps what they actually do mean.

Some of the eastern ear rings, he tells us,* are small, and go so close to the ear, as that there is no vacuity between them; others are so large that you may put the fore finger between; and are adorned with a ruby and a pearl on each side of it, strung on the ring. The women wear ear rings and pendants of divers sorts; and I have seen some, the diameter of whose round was four fingers, and almost two fingers thick, made of several kinds of metals, wood, and horn, according to the quality of people. There is nothing more disagreeable to the eyes of those that are unaccustomed to the sight; for these pendants, by their weight, widen so extremely the hole of the ear, that one might put in two fingers, and stretch it more, than one that never saw it would imagine. I have seen some of these ear rings with figures upon them, and strange characters, which, I believe, may be talismans, or charms, or perhaps nothing but the amusement of old women. The Indians say, they are preservatives against enchantments. Perhaps the ear rings of Jacob's family were of this kind.

This paragraph not only gives us reason to think the *nezems* of antiquity were those small rings worn in the ear and the nostril, and the *a geels* the larger and more showy rings, with pendants, worn only in the ear; but it gives us an Eastern probable explanation, what kind of ear rings they were that Jacob buried with the strange gods of his family, Gen. xxxv. 4.

It serves also to make the translation of a third word טבעת *tabâ oth*, which is rendered ear rings, Isaiah iii. 20, very probable: for though there is not any passage to be found, I believe, which describes them as put upon or into the ears, yet the word apparently signifies an ornament that was supposed to have some talismanic power; and some of the Indian ear rings are now supposed to be endowed with a like virtue. And though Jacob seems to

* MS. vol. vi. Gen. xxxv. 4.

have buried such ear rings as idolatrous, there is no reason to believe his female descendants, threatened by the Prophet Isaiah, were equally cautious.

OBSERVATION L.

OF THE HANDKERCHIEFS USED IN THE EAST.

Several writers take notice of the curious wrought handkerchiefs of the East, which, it seems, are used by the men as well as women there: they might be in use too anciently among the Jews, but I am persuaded the פתיל *petheel* of Judah, mentioned Gen. xxxviii. 18, does not mean such a handkerchief.

Yet Sir J. Chardin supposes this in the sixth MS. volume: and as his account is curious, though improperly applied, as I apprehend I shall here set down the substance of it. After having observed, that this is the custom of the East to wear their seals in rings on their fingers, which is sufficiently well known, he adds, "It is also the custom almost every where to carry a staff in their hand; the fashion of wearing wrought handkerchiefs is also general in Arabia, in Syria, in Palestine, and generally in all the Turkish empire. They are wrought with a needle, and it is the amusement of the fair sex there, as among us, the making tapestry and lace. The young women make them for their fathers, their brothers, and by way of preparation before hand for their spouses, bestowing them as favours on their lovers. They have them almost constantly in their hands in those warm countries, to wipe off sweat. I am persuaded that Judah also had his in his hand; and that Tamar, seeing it to be singular as to its work, as well as the staff, demanded them of Judah for her hire, as well as the ring, as appears by ver. 25. One may understand then the words "in thine hand" not only as relative to

the staff, but also to the handkerchief and the ring, since it is evident Judah had them all in his hand."*

Lady M. W. Montague speaks of her being presented with embroidered handkerchiefs, by great Turkish ladies: they were presented to men also, according to Sir J. Chardin, and used for wiping off sweat. Such handkerchiefs are not adorned, I imagine, with flowers of various colours, wrought with silk, and gold and silver thread, which, I think, is what is commonly meant by the term embroidered; but wrought only with thread or cotton, as being much the most proper for being applied to the face, as well as for the imbibing sweat.

Sir John is not the only person that has supposed a handkerchief is meant here; but I know not how to adopt the sentiment. Not to say that the word does not appear in that catalogue of female ornaments which is given us in the third of Isaiah, where surely, the word signifying handkerchiefs must appear, if they were in half the request among the Israelitish ladies, that they are now in among the Eastern people; I would say this gentleman's own account is very unfavourable to such a supposition, since he supposes they are in continual want of a handkerchief to wipe away the sweat, and have them almost perpetually in their hands for that purpose. Would Tamar have demanded a thing which was wanted almost every minute? The things she demanded were doubtless of some value, and such as would determine who the owner was; not such as he could not be well without till the kid was brought.

I cannot however think it was a bracelet, according to our version. The word never signifies any thing like that in other places, where it occurs; and other terms are used for the ornament worn on the arm and hand, and

* There are few persons of any respectability in China, who do not always carry a beautiful handkerchief in their hands, or attached to their side by one of the corners, that it may be always in readiness. EDIT.

which signify what we call bracelets, or something like them. What just foundation can there be for such a translation then?

Setting myself upon this to think what could be well spared by Judah, and answer the general meaning of the word, which signifies a riband, a lace, something twisted, &c. and which might be sufficiently particular to prove him the father of the child; I could think of nothing more likely than the fillet or wreath worn about his head: which Dr. Shaw tells us is all that many of the Arabs wear at this day about their heads; while the Moors and Turks, and some of the principal Arabs, wear a small hemispherical cap of scarlet cloth, with a long narrow web of linen, silk, or muslin, folded round the bottom of these caps.* Judah could very well spare such a trifling covering to his head as a very small wreath; and being the son of the head of a considerable clan of the people that lived in tents, it is to be supposed it was much more ornamented than what were commonly worn.

This occurred to my mind upon reading Dr. Shaw upon their dress, without finding this interpretation in any author: but it is no new thought as I perceived afterward, for I had the pleasure to find Arias Montanus translated the word in like manner *tœnia*, which signifies a wreath; and some other authors also. But what I have been saying may be of some service to assist in forming a judgment what is most probably the meaning of the word.

OBSERVATION LI.

EASTERN WOMEN FOND OF LONG HAIR, A CURIOUS CRITICISM ON THE WEIGHT OF ABSALOM'S HAIR.

The Eastern ladies are remarkable for the length, and the great number of the tresses of their hair; the men

* Page 226.

there, on the contrary, wear very little hair on their heads now, but they do not seem always to have done so.

That the Eastern women now are remarkable for the quantity of the hair of their heads, and their pride in adorning it, appears from the quotation from Dr. Shaw under a preceding Observation. Lady Mary Wortley Montague abundantly confirms it: their "hair hangs at full length behind," she tells us, "divided into tresses, braided with pearl or riband, which is also in great quantity. I never saw in my life so many fine heads of hair. In one lady's I have counted a hundred and ten of these tresses, all natural; but it must be owned that every kind of beauty is more common here than with us."*

The men there, on the contrary, shave all the hair off their heads, excepting one lock; and those that wear their hair are thought effeminate. I have met with both these particulars in Sir J. Chardin's MS. As to the last, he says in his note on 1 Cor. xi. 14, that what the Apostle mentions there is the custom of the East: the men are shaved, the women nourish their hair with great fondness,† which they lengthen by tresses and tufts of silk, down to the heels. The young men who wear their hair in the East, are looked upon as effeminate and infamous.

It appears from this passage of the Corinthians, that in the days of St. Paul the women wore their hair long, the men short, and that the Apostle thought this a natural distinction. It does not however appear it was always thought so, or, at least, that the wearing long hair by the men was thought infamous, since it was esteemed a beauty in Absalom, 2 Sam. xiv. 26.

That passage is curious, and requires some consideration, as being attended with some difficulties; and, I am afraid, somewhat improperly explained.

The *weight* of the hair, which seems to be enormously great, is the first thing that occurs to the mind. Two

* Vol. ii. p. 31.

† Amoureusement is the word he makes use of.

hundred shekels, at two hundred and ninety grains each, make forty three thousand and eight hundred grains. This is rather more than one hundred ounces avoirdupois, for four hundred and thirty seven grains and a half are equal to such an ounce. It is a very good English head of hair, I am told, that weighs five ounces; if Absalom's then weighed one hundred ounces, it was very extraordinary. Some very learned men, I think, have believed a royal shekel was but half the weight of the sacred shekel: be it so; yet fifty ounces, ten times the weight of a good British head of hair, seems to be too great an allowance. To suppose, as some have done, that adventitious matters, united with the hair, are to be taken in to make up the weight, seems to me not a little idle: what proof would this have been of his possessing an extraordinary fine head of hair, since it would be possible to attach to the hair of a man half bald, substances that should weigh one hundred ounces? Commentators then should by no means talk of the oil, the fragrant substances, the gold dust, with which they suppose the hair might be powdered, as making up this weight; they might as well have added ornaments of gold, ribands, or what answered them, artificial tresses of hair, and all the matters that are now in different methods fastened to the hair: but would not this have been ridiculous? It is more reasonable to say, the present reading may be faulty, as in other cases there have frequently been mistakes in numbers; or that we were not sure what number of grains two hundred shekels, after the king's weight, was equal to; than to attempt to remove the difficulty by such an incompetent method. It was an uncommonly fine head of hair, of very unusual weight, which is all that we know with certainty about it.*

* There may have been mistakes in the numbers, especially as in former times these were expressed by numeral *letters* only; in these ל *lamed* stands for 30, and ר *resh* for 200. Now from the similarity between those letters, a mistake may easily be made; for if the upper stroke of the ל were but a little impaired as it frequently is, both in MSS. and printed

The *shaving off all this hair*, for so the original word signifies, is a second thing that seems very strange. It was this thought, I should imagine, that led our translators to render the word by the English term *polled*, or cut short: for it seems very unaccountable, that a prince who prided himself so much in the quantity of his hair, should annually shave it off quite close; and for what purpose? would not the shortening of it have relieved him from its excessive weight? not to say, that the hair of one year's growth can, in the common course of things, be of no great length, or weigh very much. The word elsewhere signifies to shave off all the hair; is opposed to polling, or trimming the hair a little by shortening it; and was necessary in order to gain the knowledge of the true weight of the hair.

Mourners shaved themselves, Job i. 20; and those that had been in a state of bitterness when they presented themselves before kings, as appears from what is related of Joseph, Gen. xli. 14; if then "from the end of days," which is the original expression, may be understood to mean at the end of the time of his returning to his own house, and not seeing the king's face, instead of at the end of the year, then the shaving himself may be thought to express one single action, and to describe, in part, the manner in which he presented himself before the king. This would make the prophetic account very natural.

books, it might readily pass for ר resh, and the remains of the upper part of the ל *lamed* might be mistaken for the stroke over the ר which makes it the character of 200. But how could מאתים *mathayim*, 200 in the text, be put in the place of שלשים *shelosheem* 30? Very easily, when the numbers became expressed by *words at length* instead of *letters*. This makes the hair of Absalom to amount only to 30 shekels in weight, which is about seven and a half ounces, a quantity amply sufficient to excite astonishment, and yet not beyond the compass of credibility, especially as we are not obliged to conclude that this weight was polled off every year; for מקץ ימים לימים *mikkets yameem layameem. from the end of days to days*, does not necessarily imply *once a year*, but at *proper and convenient times*, as the Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel has expressed it מזמן ערן לערן *miz'man iddan leiddan*, which may imply whenever it became *too weighty* or *inconvenient*. EDIT.

But then the word כבד *kabed* translated *heavy* must be understood in another sense, a sense in which it is sometimes used, if we have no regard to the Masoretic points, namely, as signifying glory, or honor, or something of that sort.* And so the general meaning of the passage will be, "And when he shaved his head, and it was in the end of the days, of the days of his disgrace that is, at the time in which he was to shave, because it was a glory upon him, and he shaved himself and weighed the hair of his head, two hundred shekels after the king's weight."

But does not St. Paul suppose, that nature teaches us, that if a man have long hair, it is shame unto him, 1 Cor. xi. 14? He certainly does; Absalom's hair however is evidently spoken of in the book of Samuel, as what was thought to be part of his beauty, 2 Sam. xiv. 25: whether it was that they had different notions on this point in the age of David; or that they thought it rather effeminate, but however a beauty.

OBSERVATION LII.

GREAT CONFINEMENT OF THE EASTERN WOMEN.

The oriental women are kept at home, much more than wives are with us, on the account of jealousy.

Dr. Russell informs us, that "the Turks of Aleppo, being very jealous, keep their women as much at home as they can; so that it is but seldom they are allowed to visit each other. Necessity however obliges the husband to suffer them to go often to the bagnio, and Mondays and Tuesdays are a sort of licensed days for them to visit the tombs of their deceased relations; which furnishing them with an opportunity of walking abroad in the gardens, or fields,† they have so contrived, that almost every

* See in particular, Prov. xxvi. 1.

† Their cemeteries and their gardens are out of their cities, at least in common.

Thursday in the spring bears the name of some particular Sheekh,* whose tomb they must visit on that day. By this means the greatest part of the Turkish women of the city, get abroad to breathe the fresh air at such seasons unless confined, as is not uncommon, to their houses by order of the Bashaw, and so deprived even of that little freedom which custom had procured them from their husbands."† And in the next paragraph he tells us, that "though necessity obliges many of the inferior people to trust their wives out of doors, yet some are locked up till the husbands return." Here we see great confinement, and the most innocent amusements, such as walking to the gardens, frequently forbidden; and this when devotion itself is united, with pleasure, professed to be united, in these excursions.

The prohibitions of the Bashaws are designed, or pretended to be designed at least, without doubt, to prevent the bad effects, in respect to the chastity of the fair sex, which those liberties of going abroad might be supposed to draw after them. For the same reason we may believe, St. Paul joins the being chaste and keepers at home together, in his Epistle to Titus,‡ where he directs that Evangelist, to engage the elder Christian women, to teach the young women *to be discreet, chaste, keepers at home*, &c. Titus seems to have been in Crete, and the Apostle, with something really of the solicitude a modern Bashaw affects, appears to have given this direction to Titus.

I do not suppose the words of St. Paul, bind European ladies to that severe retirement and keeping at home, that prudence requires an Eastern female Christian to observe, and which St. Paul might intend with respect to those of Crete; but certainly the spirit of that injunction requires them to avoid every needless quitting their homes, that they may excite the jealousy of a husband, or the sus-

* Or Saint, commonly expressed by the word *Sheekh*.

† Page 123, 124. ‡ Titus ii. 5.

picions of the world: whether every British female, that calls herself a Christian, attends either to the letter or spirit of this order, is another point; that they ought to consider themselves under an obligation to preserve its spirit and intention cannot be doubted.

OBSERVATION LIII.

OF TINGING THE EYES IN THE EAST.

Several authors, and Lady M. W. Montague in particular,* have taken notice of the custom, that has obtained from time immemorial among the Eastern women, of tinging the eyes with a powder, which, at a distance, or by candle light, adds very much to the blackness of them.

The ancients call the mineral substance with which this was done, stibium, that is, antimony; but Dr. Shaw tells us,† it is a rich lead ore, which, according to the description of naturalists, looks very much like antimony. Those that are acquainted with that substance, may form a tolerable idea of it, by being told it is not very unlike the black lead of which pencils are made, that are in every body's hands.

Many passages of Scripture are known to refer to this custom; but it has been unobserved I think, and for that reason makes an article in these papers, that it is most probable the redness of the eyes, according to our version, which the dying Patriarch mentions in blessing Judah is to be explained by this usage.

The original word חכללות *chakeleloth*, or חכלילי *chakeleelee*, occurs but twice in the Scriptures, in both places it evidently expresses a consequence of drinking wine; but in one, it signifies an agreeable, and in the other, a reproachful effect of it. Gen. xlix. 12, and Prov. xxiii. 29,

* Letters, vol. 2, p. 32. † Page 229.

are the two places. I do not know that redness of the eyes, strictly speaking, is occasioned by drinking: that arises from other causes. If we change the expression a little, and, instead of *redness of the eyes*, read *redness of the countenance*, as some commentators are disposed to do, it is certain such an effect is produced by the drinking of wine, but it is however another word that expresses redness in general, that expresses ruddiness of complexion in particular;* nor did the Seventy understand the word to signify redness, but a kind of blackness, for so they translate Prov. xxiii. 29, whose eyes are πελιδνοι; a word which expresses the colour which arises from bruising the flesh, and which is marked out in English by two words joined together, *black and blue*. The Syriac and Arabic are said to translate in the same manner;† and is it not more natural to explain it in this passage, which speaks of woe, of sorrow, of wounds, after this manner, than of a red face?

If the word is understood in this sense, in this passage of the Proverbs, it cannot be proper to give it, unnecessarily, another sense, when we read the predictions of Jacob; and it is certain there is no difficulty in understanding it of blackness of the eyes there. The blackness that is communicated to the eyes by this lead ore, reduced to an impalpable powder, is expressly said by Dr. Shaw, to be thought to add a wonderful gracefulness to persons of all complexions: Lady Wortley Montague, in her lively way, says the same thing; for she supposes our English ladies would be overjoyed to know the secret; and what is it that is the great beauty of the eye, but sprightliness and life? And certainly, as sorrow deadens the eye, or makes it dim, in the language of Job; wine adds to its vivacity: as therefore it produces a similar effect with the Eastern powder, it is no wonder a term belonging to this drug, is translated in the language of prediction, which is known to be frequently akin to the

* See 1 Sam. xvi. 12, ch. xvii. 42, &c. † Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

language of poetry, to express what follows the drinking of wine: "His eyes shall be blackened with wine;" enlivened, that is, by wine, as if blackened by lead ore. Agreeably to this, though not with the same precision, the Seventy make use of a term in translating the word in this place, which signifies the joyousness of the eyes, as do also many of the fathers."*

St. Austin, however, is sometimes an exception, translating the word in some places indeed, glistening, *fulgentes*, but in others, yellow or tawney, *fulvi*. What the good bishop of Hippo understood, by the eyes of the people of the tribe of Judah's being made yellow by wine; or, if you please to understand it rather of their countenances, what by their being made tawney by the juice of the grape, I leave to others to inquire; some devout mystic sense may doubtless be put on such a translation, but great must be the absurdity of such a version, if understood literally; the English translation, "His eyes shall be red with wine," is as ill founded I believe; but if understood of the countenance in general, by no means so absurd.

In truth the colours which are mentioned in Scripture, solicit the cares of the learned, as well as the vegetables and the animals, which have been more commonly thought of: what I have been saying proves it; as, I am afraid, a passage of the very curious Michaelis also does. That ingenious inquisitive author tells us, in a note on the twentyeighth question proposed by him to the Danish Academicians, that he was ready to believe, that the word אדמדם *adamdam*, which is translated red, in the account that is given by Moses of the leprosy, Lev. xiii. 42, 49, comprehends in it the yellow, as it evidently does, he says, Gen. xxv. 33, as well as in the Arabic.† How

* Vide Scholia in Sac. Bib. Græc. ex. vers. 70, Inter. Lond. 1653.

† Et je croirois presque que le mot אדמדם que l' on traduit par *roussatre*, comprend encore la coleur *jaune*, comme il le fait evidemment Genes. xxv. 30, aussi bien que dans la langue Arabe, p. 75. It may be

evidently this appears, by that passage in Genesis, all will be sensible, that read that place of Dr. Shaw, in which he describes this pottage, which, according to him, still continues to be made in the East, of lentiles, and is of a chocolate colour, p. 140. This Hebrew word in short, which expresses the colour of blood, as appears from 2 Kings iii. 22, and of red wine, Is. lxiii. 2, is used for a dark brownish red, and such a colour, as that of a lemon, too much differs, I should think, to be denoted by one word.

There are other *reds* much brighter than the colour of blood: with respect to which our translators jumble and confound things strangely, translating three different Hebrew words *crimson*, and rendering one of them sometimes *crimson*, and sometimes *scarlet*. Of these שני *shani*, I think, must undoubtedly mean a bright red, for it describes the colour of beautiful lips, Cant. iv. 3. That תולע *tolaa* means *red*, in general, is evident from Is. i. 18, and as it is used with שני *shani*, to denote one colour, Exod. xxxix. 3, they should both mean the same colour, one of them expressing the colour itself, and the other the materials, or manner of dying it, somewhat answering our term engrained. As for כרמיל *karmeel*, the other word translated *crimson*, 2 Chron. iii. 14, and in two or three other places, I am extremely dubious about its meaning, but am rather inclined to believe it does not signify any particular colour, but means flowery, or something of that kind.

Laban לבן certainly means *white*, for it describes the colour of milk, Gen. xlix. 12; שחור *shachor*, on the contrary, *black*, for it is the colour of the raven, Cant. v. 11. חום *chum*, is the colour that sometimes, but not commonly, appears among sheep, and therefore signifies *brown*, Gen. xxx. 32; ירק *jerek* certainly means *green*, Exod. x. 15.

right to add, the expression is softened, in a copy of these questions joined to Niebuhr's description of Arabia, but the supposition is not retracted.

Other words are translated *blue* and *purple*. We may believe those bright and lively colours were in use in the days of Moses, in their painting and dyeing both, but the determining the words that signify each must depend on lexicographers, there being nothing in the texts in which they occur so circumstantial, I think, as to determine this matter. So Capt. Norden mentions *ultramarine*, as used with other lively colours, in painting those remains of very remote antiquity, the Egyptian hieroglyphics.*

OBSERVATION LIV.

OF THE EASTERN MIRRORS.

The MS. C. in a note on Ecclesiasticus xii. 11, tells us the Eastern mirrors are of polished steel, and for the most part convex.

The world has been so often told that the mirrors of the Israelitish women were of metal, on occasion of what is said Exod. xxxviii. 8, that few people of reading are unapprised of it; but the two circumstances mentioned here are, I confess, new to me, the making them of *steel*, and the making them *convex*.†

If they were made of the same material, and in the same form, in the country of Elihu, the image made use of by him must be more lively than if we suppose them made of brass, and flat: *Hast thou with him spread out the sky, which is strong, and as a moulten looking-glass*, Job xxxvii. 18. A serene sky is much more of the colour of steel than of brass; and a piece of this metal formed into a concavo-convex shape, must much more

* Part 2, p. 75, 76.

† I have since observed, that Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain has mentioned both these circumstances in his description of the East Indies. 376.

strongly have affected the imagination of an Arab, thinking of the visible appearance of the atmosphere, than a plain piece of metal.

Whether this kind of mirror was in use in the days of Moses cannot be determined: but such a curiosity, to most, if not all my readers, a novelty, I thought ought not to be suppressed; and especially as it gives such life and energy to the image used by Elihu. Those mirrors that were brought out of Egypt by the Israelitish women were, it seems, of brass. Perhaps it may seem strange, that either steel or brass, which are so apt to rust or canker, should be employed in the construction of a sacred vessel for the holding of water, and which must be liable to be often besprinkled on the outside by those that washed. The apocryphal writer himself, that speaks of those speculums, supposes they were liable to rust: *Thou shalt be unto him as if thou hadst wiped a lookingglass, and thou shalt know that his* rust *hath not been altogether wiped away.* And brass is liable to verdegris, as iron to rust.

Perhaps it may not be disagreeable to observe, that, according to Dr. Perry, pipes of fountains, figures that spout out water, and basins designed for the reception of it, in some of the palaces of the Grand Signior, are in like manner of brass. They appear indeed to have been gilt, which must greatly preserve them from cankering; the laver of Moses might be gilt too. If the Turkish Sultan, who could so easily have commanded silver, or who might have confined himself to marble, for these works, has made use of brass, is it any wonder Moses made use of this metal for his laver?

"Each window," says Dr. Perry,* "in the lower range, has a serpent's head of brass gilt, on each side of it, spouting water into a receiver of the same kind, a small cascade rushes down a neat piece of gilded shell-

* Page 26.

work, cut in marble on each side of the walls; and discharges itself at the mouths of eight brazen serpents rising at the foot of it, into a square marble basin, which has a cluster of little pipes in the middle of it, and a double headed serpent at each corner spouting the water into a cup of the same metal. All those things are richly adorned and embellished with fine gilding, and the whole structure exhibits an air truly majestic."

OBSERVATION LV.

OF THE PEACOCKS IMPORTED BY SOLOMON.

The last word תכיים *tukkiyeem* of those paragraphs which describe the imports of Solomon's navy from Tarshish, is dubious: some of the learned have thought it means *parrots*, the greatest number *peacocks*.*

What led some of the curious to imagine parrots were meant, I do not well know; but there is a passage in Hasselquist,† which strongly inclines me to adopt their sentiment: describing the commerce of the people of Ethiopia, he says, The Abyssinians make a journey every year to Cairo, to sell the products of their country, slaves, gold, elephants, drugs, monkeys, parrots, &c. As Solomon's navy is said to have brought gold and silver, elephants' teeth, and apes, and peacocks, and this by the way of the Red Sea, 1 Kings ix. 26, which washes the east of Abyssinia, one would imagine, as many of the other particulars tally with each other, that instead of *peacocks*, the true translation of the last word is *parrots*.

Religion indeed is not at all concerned in this uncertainty; but it is a matter of curiosity, and as such may, with great propriety, be taken notice of in these papers.

* *Pavones*, vel juxta quosdam, *Psittaci*, says Buxtorff, in his Epist. Rad. Heb. 1 Kings x. 22, 2 Chron. ix. 21.

† Page 298.

OBSERVATION LVI.

IN ANCIENT TIMES, THE EGYPTIAN WOMEN WERE MUCH ENGAGED IN COMMERCE.

Herodotus, it seems, thought the Egyptian women's carrying on commerce was a curiosity that deserved to be inserted in his history; it can hardly then be thought an impropriety, to take notice of this circumstance in a collection of papers tending to illustrate the Scriptures, and especially in a country where the women indeed spin, but the men not only buy and sell, but weave, and do almost every thing else relating to manufactures.

The commerce mentioned by Herodotus is lost, according to Maillet, from among the women of Egypt in general, being only retained by the Arabs of that country who live in the mountains. The Arabian historians say,* that the women used to deal in buying and selling of things woven of silk, gold and silver, of pure silk, of cotton, of cotton and thread, or simple linen cloth, whether made in the country or imported; the men in wheat, barley, rice, and other productions of the earth. Maillet, in giving an account of the alteration in this respect in Egypt, affirms that this usage still continues among the Arabs to this day, who live in the mountains; and consequently he must be understood to affirm, that the things that are woven among the Arabs and sold, are sold by the women, who are indeed the persons that weave the men's hykes in Barbary, according to Dr. Shaw,† and doubtless weave in Egypt.

Now this is precisely what the book of Proverbs supposes the Israelitish women, that were industrious, anciently did: *She maketh fine linen, and selleth it, and delivereth girdles unto the merchants.*‡ However dis-

* Maillet, 11, p. 134. † Page 224, 240.

‡ Prov. xxxi. 24.

sonant this may be to our manners, it is what perfectly agreed with the simplicity of the most ancient times, and is accordingly retained by the Arabs, who are noted for the preservation of their ancient usages.

OBSERVATION LVII.

OF THE SHIRTS WORN BY THE TURKS AND MOORS.

It is customary for the Turks and Moors, according to Dr. Shaw, to wear shirts of linen, or cotton, or gauze, under their tunics; but the Arabs wear nothing but woollen.* This is frequently the case also with the Arabs of Palestine, it seems though d'Arvieux gives a contrary account of the Arabs of the camp of the grand Emir whom he visited;† for Egmont and Heyman assure us,‡ that they saw several Arabian inhabitants of Jaffa‖ going along almost naked, the greatest part of them without so much as a shirt or a pair of breeches, though some wore a kind of a mantle; as for the children there, they ran about almost as naked as they were born, though they had all little chains about their legs as an ornament, and some of silver.

The reason of the difference between these authors is, without doubt, d'Arvieux's describing those of the camp of the grand Emir, who were many of them persons of consequence; and Egmont and Heyman's giving an account of the poorer sort of Arabs. However it is visible from the last book, that many of the poorer people of Palestine, as well as in Barbary, wear no shirts, while those in easier circumstances do; which wearing of linen next them cannot but be a peculiar comfort in those hot climates.

May we not suppose that many of the poorer inhabitants of Judea, in ancient times, shifted as the Arabs of

* Page 228. † Voy. dans la Pal. par la Roque, ch. 16.

‡ Vol. 1, p. 298. ‖ Called Joppa in the New Testament.

this country do now? And may not this explain the proposal made by Samson, Jud. xiv. 12, to give not only thirty changes of garments, but thirty other things, confirming the supposition of the margin of our Bibles, which reads thirty *shirts*, if they could decypher the difficulty he proposed to them, and they to give him the same, if they could not? It cannot easily be imagined that they were what we mean by *sheets*, for Samson might have slain thirty Philistines near Askelon, and not have met with one sheet; or if he slew such as were carrying their bedding with them in their travels, as they often do now, the destroying fifteen would have been sufficient, the people of the East using an upper and an under sheet as we do;* but he slew just thirty, in order to acquire thirty סדינים *Sedinim;* thirty *shirts* that is, or at least not thirty sheets in the common sense of the word.

The supposing them to be thirty *shirts* is not pretended to be a new thought: I have expressly observed that our marginal reading translates the Hebrew word thus; but I do not know that it has been remarked by any body that this circumstance, if it be allowed to be fact, points out the bitterness of this slaughter to the Philistines, since it shows that they were not thirty common people of that nation that he slew, but thirty persons of figure and consequence.

This observation may equally take place, if we should suppose it signifies some other sort of vestment, not so near the skin, for in this case, those he slew had two different things upon them, whereas the poorer sort of the people of Palestine have only a kind of mantle on them; not to say that it appears, from Is. iii. 23, that whatever it was, it signifies an high part of dress, a consideration which seems to put the matter quite out of all doubt, as to their being persons of rank that he destroyed.†

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 177.

† Sir John Chardin in his MS. supposes the word signifies *drawers*. If understood after this manner, it may point out their being persons of some distinction, many of the poorer Arabs wearing none.

OBSERVATION LVIII.

A BLANKET OR SHEET FREQUENTLY USED AS A WRAPPER FOR THE BODY AMONG THE EGYPTIANS.

Bishop Pococke observes, in describing the *dresses* of the people of Egypt, that "it is almost a general custom among the Arabs and Mohammedan natives of the country, to wear a large blanket, either white or brown, and in summer a blue and white cotton sheet, which the Christians constantly use in the country: putting one corner before over the left shoulder, they bring it behind, and under the right arm, and so over their bodies, throwing it behind over the left shoulder, and so the right arm is left bare for action. When it is hot, and they on horseback, they let it fall down on the saddle round them; and about Faiume I particularly observed that young people especially, and the poorer sort, had nothing on whatever but this blanket; and it is probable the young man was clothed in this manner, who followed our Saviour when he was taken, having a linen cloth cast about his naked body; and when the young men laid hold of him, he left the linen cloth, and fled from them naked."*

I am very much disposed to think as the Bishop does upon this point; and as he has made this observation, I should not have thought of introducing it into these papers, had I not apprehended some additional remarks might not be altogether useless.

This account relates to Egypt; but it appears from that passage of Egmont and Heyman, which I cited under the last Observation, that many of the inhabitants of Palestine are as slightly clothed now as the Egyptians, and we may believe were so anciently.

The ancients, or at least many of them, supposed that the young man in question, who is mentioned Mark xiv.

* Descript. of the East, vol. 1, p. 190.

21, 22, was one of the Apostles. Grotius* wonders how they could think of such a thing; and supposes it was some youth, who lodged in a country house near to the garden of Gethsemane, who ran out in a hurry to see what was the matter, in his night vestment, or in his shirt, as we should express it. But the word that is used to express what he had upon him, expresses also such a cloth as they wrapped up the dead in, and occurs in no other sense in the New Testament; but the Eastern people do not lie like corpses wrapped up in a winding sheet, but in drawers and one or two waistcoats at Aleppo;† and those that go without drawers, as the Arabs of Barbary do, according to Dr. Shaw,‡ and many of those of the Holy Land, if we may believe Egmont and Heyman, sleep in their raiment, and their hyke which they wear by day, serves them for a bed and covering by night.‖ It might as well then be an Apostle in his day dress, as an ordinary youth wrapped up in that dress in which he lay; and it is rather to be understood of an Apostle in his common clothing, than a person of figure in his drawers and waistcoat, in which such persons now lie, and which we may believe Dionysius Alexandrinus meant, by the εν λινω εσθημαλι of his epistle, which Grotius quotes.

A later commentator takes notice, that though this youth is said to fly naked away, upon his leaving the linen cloth in the hands of those that seized him, yet it is by no means necessary to suppose he was absolutely naked: which is indeed very true; but is not this precisely the thing however that the Evangelist designs to intimate, in order to mark out the extreme fear of this young man, who rather chose to quit his hyke, than run the risk of being made a prisoner? though, by doing this, he became entirely exposed, which, in those countries, is looked on in a much more disagreeable light than among us; inso-

* In loc. † See Russell, vol. i. p. 145. ‡ Page 224.

‖ See Shaw in the last cited place. Voyez aussi le Voy. dans la Pal. par la Roque, p. 176.

much, that the very children have been observed to have had drawers on, when they swim :* and probably the modesty of the Jews of those times was equal to that of the modern Arabs.†

Dr. Lightfoot supposes, as I do, that he had nothing on under this linen cloth; but he is ready to attribute this to mortification, and a superstitious austerity: but if he was not an Apostle, as the Doctor does not suppose he was, yet he must be understood to have been a disciple of JESUS, or he needed not to have been afraid; and we know, that though the disciples of John followed a rigorous institute, those of CHRIST did not. *Why do the disciples of John and of the Pharisees* fast, *but thy disciples fast not?* Mark ii. 18.

OBSERVATION LIX.

SHADE OF THE JUNIPER TREE, SAID TO BE UNHEALTHY.

WHEN Elijah fled for his life from Jezebel, we are told that he went a day's journey into the wilderness of Beer-

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 177, 178.

† This account of d'Arvieux has been thought not to agree very well with Egmont and Heyman's, cited under the preceding Observation. I do not reckon myself obliged to reconcile all the contrarieties that may occur, in the authors I have occasion to cite; but as to this seeming contradiction, I would observe, that persons may be extremely well covered without wearing drawers, as in the case of the Arabs of Barbary; and that as to children, those that are very young, may, in the apprehensions of the Eastern people, be left absolutely naked, without breaking the rules of modesty, while those that approach nearer a state of maturity, may put on drawers when they swim, a care that is seldom taken, by any in our own country. It is certain that Norden represents the young children of the generous Barbarian, whose cottage he visited in Egypt, as running about there quite naked, vol. ii. p. 119; whereas Egmont and Heyman only describe them as almost naked: on the other hand, d'Arvieux, without doubt, saw some youths swimming with drawers on, which he happened to mention in particular, as, in general, he found them observing the rules of decency with great exactness. Very young children, are, in most nations, treated with much less scrupulous care than those further advanced.

sheba, and that sitting down under a juniper tree, tired with his journey, and oppressed with grief, he fell asleep, after having requested of GOD that he might die.

A writer, who is with great propriety extremely celebrated,* supposes that this resting under a juniper tree expressed great carelessness about his health, and cites a passage from Virgil,† as a proof that the shadow of this tree was noxious. One can hardly read this without thinking of that wantonness, in applying their learning, which we see oftentimes in the works of eminent men, but of which we are unwilling to suppose a person of such distinction as Grotius would be guilty, and especially in a commentary on Scripture.

The passage in Virgil does not prove what it is cited for: take the whole two lines, they signify that the shade in general, to those that sung, was at that time of the year, supposed to be noxious if long continued in; that it was then injurious to the fruits themselves. The shade of the juniper tree is distinctly mentioned, apparently for no other reason, but because being an evergreen, and its leaves growing very close, its shade must be more chilly then, and damp, than that of several other trees. That its shade is *not noxious*, at least not thought to be so by the people of the East, is sufficiently plain from a passage in Dr. Shaw, who tells us, that a city of Barbary, famous for remains of ancient magnificence, is "pleasantly situated upon a rising ground, shaded all over with juniper trees."‡ Would they have raised such noble edifices anciently, or would they have dwelt under the shade of such a grove, if its effluvia were deadly, or if trees of that species were thought to be injurious to health?

Another commentator|| of considerable name, though not of equal celebrity with Grotius, supposes, on the con-

* Grotius, Valetudinis incuriosus.

† ——Solet esse gravis cantantibus umbra:
Juniperi gravis umbra; nocent & frugibus umbræ.
Ecl. x. 75, 76.

‡ Page 119. || Pet. Martyr. Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

trary, that he reposed himself under a juniper tree, for the more effectual preservation of his health, its shade being a protection from serpents; and that it was the custom of the people of that country to guard themselves by such precautions. This is I doubt equally visionary. Travellers have sometimes mentioned their sitting under trees in that hot country; some of them,* their enjoying that pleasure in that very desert of which this wilderness of Beersheba is a part; but not one word of their guides choosing out juniper trees as defensative against venomous animals; and indeed, according to Dioscorides, they were the *embers* of the juniper wood, not the *shade* of the living tree, that possessed the power of driving away serpents.†

The truth seems to be, that Elijah flying into a wilderness in the south of Judea, to escape the rage of Jezebel, found himself extremely oppressed with heat, and was glad to find a tree to shade him. Trees do not grow very commonly there, but there are some. He found, it seems, a juniper tree in particular, which was extremely welcome to him on account of its thick shade, without any apprehension of its possessing any deleterious, or, on the contrary, any alexipharmic quality; he repaired to it merely for its shade, and there he fell asleep, and was awakened by a merciful angelic vision, after some time, which must greatly have comforted him. Can any thing now be more impertinent than an imagination, that the Prophet repaired thither with an intention verging toward self destruction?

Dioscorides was a native of Cilicia: if we may suppose that the Eastern notion of the age of Dioscorides, who was contemporary with the Apostles, was some hundred years older than his time; if it was in particular as old as the time of David; it is not impossible that the Psalmist might refer to this supposed quality of the embers of the juniper tree, in those words of the one hundred and twen-

* Egmont and Heyman, vol. ii. p. 151. † Lib. 1, p. 103.

tieth psalm. *What shall be done unto thee thou false tongue? sharp arrows of the mighty, with coals of juniper.*

It is difficult to say with precision why the coals of juniper are particularly mentioned. Some interpreters have ascribed to them the power of long preserving fire; some have mentioned the fragrance of the wood; but these explanations are not very satisfactory: and as to the first property, St. Jerom's account of those embers keeping fire, when covered up with ashes, a whole twelvemonth, will hardly obtain credit, notwithstanding his canonization.

But if coals of juniper were thought, in the days of the Psalmist, to have possessed the power of driving away venomous animals, the thought might, possibly, be this: Oh what shall be done to thee that possessest a tongue of falsehood? thou shalt be given up to the arrows of the mighty, which shall pierce through thee with deadly force, after thou shalt be made to appear in thy true light, as poisonous animals are forced out of their lurking holes, and brought into view by the energy of coals of juniper, and then destroyed.

It is certain malignant spirits are in Scripture compared to venomous serpents, Ps. cxl. 3; and that Bishop Pococke mentions a species of the juniper tree, in his catalogue of the plants of Palestine; but he does not tell us whether he found it growing in the deserts, or elsewhere.

After all, it is very uncertain whether the juniper is meant by the original word רתם *retham*. *Broom* grows in those wildernesses, according to travellers;* and some very learned men have supposed that was the plant that was meant. Our broom indeed is so low a plant, that it would hardly have been sufficient to cover Elijah from the heat; but there is a species of broom which it is said

* Thevenot, part 1, p. 163.

grows to an height sufficient to have shaded him; and its Spanish name, supposed to have been brought thither from the East, agrees very well with the Hebrew word.

Nor is it very difficult, to assign a reason why the Psalmist should mention the coals of *broom*, in the passage we have been referring to. He was then in the tents of Kedar,* or among the Arabs. In those deserts they frequently are obliged to use dried dung† of camels by way of fuel. This fuel must be extremely faint in comparison of wood. And broom being the wood the Arabs, among whom he dwelt, chiefly used, nothing was more natural for him, than to tell the lying tongue, it should feel anguish like that of fire,‡ the most vigorous fire that he saw employed in those deserts.

Indeed neither the root of the juniper, nor of the broom, seems to be eatable, and consequently it may be thought that Job xxx. 4, proves that the word רתם *rathem*, the original word which some suppose signifies juniper, and others broom, means neither of them. But it is possible, the same word, or nearly the same word, may signify very different vegetables. The word plantain signifies an herb, and grows very commonly in grassplats; and it signifies also a large American tree, which our voyagers frequently mention. So the word aloes denotes certain foreign herbs, remarkably succulent; and it means a tree also, whose wood is extremely fragrant and precious. A kindred Arabian word to that which occurs in these texts, and which is rendered juniper in our version, means, it seems, a sort of broom: and the same, or a similar word appears to signify a sort of herb, which grows in the Arabian deserts. "We reached," say Egmont and Heyman,‖ speak-

* Ver. 5. † Shaw, pref. p. 12.

‡ Hairri describes the heart as having fierce burning coals deposited upon it, when he would signify the great anxiety under which it laboured, which the note tells us is a proverbial form of speech. See Six Assemblies, &c. by Chappelow, p. 106.

‖ Vol. 2, p. 154.

ing of their journey to Mount Sinai, "the valley of Rethame: this valley, called in the Hebrew *Rethame*, and commonly *Ritma*, derives its name from a yellow flower called *Rettem*, with which the valley is enamelled. This plant was evidently a very different thing from a tree sufficient to shade Elijah, while he took some repose: whether its root is ever used for food by any poor starving Arabians, we are not told by them, or any other traveller, so far as I can remember. How useful would a more perfect knowledge of the natural history of the East be!

OBSERVATION LX.

OF THE LAMPS AND LANTERNS USED IN EGYPT.

Captain Norden, among other particulars he thought worthy of notice, has given some account* of the lamps and lanterns that they make use of commonly at Cairo. "The lamp," he tells us, "is of the palm tree wood, of the height of twenty-three inches, and made in a very gross manner. The glass, that hangs in the middle, is half filled with water, and has oil on the top, about three fingers in depth. The wick is preserved dry at the bottom of the glass, where they have contrived a place for it, and ascends through a pipe. These lamps do not give much light; yet they are very commodious, because they are transported easily from one place to another.

"With regard to the lanterns, they have pretty nearly the figure of a cage, and are made of reeds. It is a collection of five or six glasses, like to that of a lamp, which has been just described. They suspend them by cords in the middle of the streets, when there is any great festival at Cairo, and they put painted paper in the place of the reeds."

* Part 1, p. 83.

Were these the lanterns that those that came to take Jesus made use of? or were they such lamps as these that Christ referred to in the parable of the virgins? or are we rather to suppose that these lanterns are appropriated to the Egyptian illuminations, and that Dr. Pococke's account of the lanterns of this country, will give us a better idea of the lanterns that were anciently made use of at Jerusalem?

"By night," says that author,* speaking of the travelling of the people of Egypt, "they rarely make use of tents, but lie in the open air, having large lanterns, made like a pocket paper lantern, the bottom and top being of copper, tinned over: and instead of paper, they are made with linen, which is extended by hoops of wire, so that when it is put together it serves as a candlestick, &c. . . . . and they have a contrivance to hang it up abroad, by means of three staves."

It appears from travellers, that lamps, wax candles, torches, lanterns, and cresset lights,† are all made use of among the Eastern people.‡ I think also, that there are only three words in the New Testament to express these things by, of which, λυχνος seems to signify the common lamps that are used in ordinary life, see Luke xv. 8, which according to Norden, affords but little light: λαμπας, which is one of the words which is made use of John xviii. 3, seems to mean any sort of light that shines brighter than common, whether torches, blazing resinous pieces of wood, or lamps that are supplied with more than ordinary quantities of oil, or other unctuous substances; such as that mentioned by Hanway in his Travels,‖ which stood in the court yard of a person of some distinction in Persia, was supplied with tallow, and was sufficient to enlighten the whole place, as a single wax candle served for the

* Vol. 1, Descript. of the East. † A kind of moveable beacons.

‡ Thevenot, part 2, p. 35 and 37, Norden, part 1, p. 124, Hanway,

‖ Vol. 1, p. 223.

illumination of the room where he was entertained: and such I presume were the lamps our LORD speaks of in the parable of the virgins, which were something of the nature of common lamps, for they were supplied with oil, but then were supposed sufficient for enlightning the company they went to meet, on a very joyful occasion, which required the most vigorous lights.*

The other word, φανος, which occurs in John xviii. 3, is no where else to be found in the New Testament; and whether it precisely means *lanterns*, as our translators render the word, I do not certainly know. If it does, I conclude, without much hesitation, that it signifies such linen lanterns as Dr. Pococke gives an account of, rather than those mentioned by Norden, which seem rather to be machines proper for illuminations than for common use; and if so, the Evangelist perhaps means, that they came with such lanterns as people were wont to make use of when abroad in the night: but least the weakness of the light should give an opportunity to JESUS to escape, many of them had torches, or such large and bright burning lamps as were made use of on nuptial solemnities, the more effectually to secure him. Such was the treachery of Judas, and the zeal of his attendants!

OBSERVATION LXI.

SPADES SELDOM USED IN THE HOLY LAND, THE VINEYARDS BEING CULTIVATED BY THE PLOUGH.

DANDINI tells us, that "in Mount Libanus they never use spades to their vineyards, but they cultivate them

* Sir John Chardin in his MS. note on Mat. xxv. 4, informs us, that in many parts of the East, and in particular in the Indies, instead of torches and flambeaux, they carry a pot of oil in one hand, and a lamp full of oily rags in the other. This seems to be a very happy illustration of this part of the parable. He observes, in another of the MSS. that they seldom make use of candles in the East, especially among the great; candles casting but little light, and the sitting at a considerable distance from them. Ezek. i. 18, represents the light of lamps accordingly as very lively.

with their oxen; for they are planted with straight rows of trees, far enough one from another."*

As the usages of the East so seldom change, it is very probable a spade was not commonly used in the time of our LORD in their vineyards. We find the Prophet Isaiah using a term,† יעדר *yeâder*, which our translators indeed render by the English word *digged*, but which differs from that which expresses the digging of wells, of graves, &c. in other places; and is the same with that used to signify *keeping in rank*, 1 Chron. xii. 33, 38. When then JESUS represents the vine dresser as saying to his lord, Luke xiii. 8, *Let it alone this year also, till I shall dig about it and dung it*, it seems we are not to understand the digging with a spade about the figtree, planted in a vineyard according to their customs;‡ but the turning up the ground, between the rows of trees, with an instrument proper for the purpose drawn by oxen, ploughing about it, in other words.

OBSERVATION LXII.

NECESSITY OF WATER IN THE EASTERN GARDENS.

WHETHER the garden of Gethsemane had any water in it, does not appear by the Evangelic history; but water is not only a great addition to a garden in those hot climates, it is so in ours, it is even necessary: without it in the summer, every thing would be parched up: all the gardens of Aleppo, according to Dr. Russell, are on the banks of the river that runs by that city, or on the sides of the rill that supplies their aqueduct; and all the rest

* Chap. 10, p. 43. † Is. v. 6, &c. chap. vii. 25.

‡ "The rising grounds above the gardens, to which water cannot be conveyed, are in some places laid out in vineyards, interspersed with olive, fig, and pistachio trees, as are also many spots to the Eastward." Russell's Nat. Hist. of Aleppo, vol. 1, p. 51.

of the country he represents as perfectly burnt up in the summer months, the gardens only retaining their verdure, on account of the moistness of the situation.

I do not know that the necessity of water to their gardens has been remarked, but it is requisite to attend to this circumstance, if we would enter into the energy of Is. i. 30: *Ye shall be as an oak, whose leaf fadeth: and as a garden that hath no water.*

It is not however to be imagined, that every garden in the East is by the side of a river, or perennial brook; Gethsemane is not so situated, nor is this an argument, that is valid, to prove that the place now shown for it was not a garden in the time of our LORD; since it is by Kedron, which, though dry in summer, ran in winter, and might fill a reservoir of water, sufficient for all the summer months. Receptacles of this kind might be, and doubtless often were, filled by the rains too; but water, in one way or other, is, and was absolutely necessary to an Eastern garden.

OBSERVATION LXIII.

SOME CURIOUS REMARKS ON CANT. vii. 11—13.

DR. RUSSELL tells us, that the English at Aleppo generally live at the gardens near Baballah, during the month of April, and part of May.* This I have had occasion to mention elsewhere, on another account; but I would here observe, that if the sacred writer refers to such a sort of retirement, in the close of the seventh chapter of Canticles, the word *fruits* should not, I think, have been introduced there: *Come, my beloved, let us get forth into the field: let us lodge in the villages. Let us go up early to the vineyards: let us see if the vine flourish, whether the tender grape appear, and the pomegranates*

* Hist. of Alepp. vol. i. c. 2.

bud forth: there will I give thee my loves. The mandrakes give a smell, and at our gates are all manner of pleasant fruits, new and old, which I have laid up for thee, O my beloved.

The budding of the pomegranates, &c. seems to determine their going into the field to this time of the year: but though there might be old fruits indeed, at that time, in plenty, such as currants, raisins, dried apricots, pistaches, which Russell mentions, vol. i. p. 74, to which I might add figs and almonds, of which things several, though probably not all,* were known before the age of Solomon; yet hardly any new fruits could then be found, none being mentioned by Russell, as produced at Aleppo by that time.

Migdanoth, מגדנת a word very nearly related to the word מגדים *Megadim* used here, apparently signifies *precious things* of a very different kind from the fruits of the garden, in Gen. xxiv. 53, 2 Chron. xxi. 3, ch. xxxii. 23, Ezra i. 6;† but they cannot be things of the nature of those referred to there, that are here meant, as appears from the invitation to go into the field, the villages, to enjoy them.

If then they are neither fruits, nor jewels of gold, that are here meant, why may we not understand the word as signifying precious plants in general, *herbs* and *flowers*, *shrubs* and *trees?* So the *new and old megadim* that were treasured up, will signify a delightful mixture of *new* plants, with those desirable ones that had been *wont* to grow in the gardens of Judea.

Great additions of precious flowers, shrubs, and trees, have been made to the gardens of Europe. Exotic plants have been introduced also into those of the East. Rus-

* See Shaw, p. 145 and 341.

† How strange then is the explanation of this word, Migdanoth, by Buxtorf, in his Epitome Rad. Heb. Res pretiosæ, sed de fructibus terræ tantum dicitur:—who, immediately after this interpretation, cites Gen. xxiv. 53, Ezra i. 6, 2 Chron. xxxii. 23, in proof of the justness of it; passages that rather prove the contrary of what he had said!

sell tells us, that the ladies of Aleppo are very fond of several European flowers that have been introduced into their gardens. A bashaw of Egypt took great pains to preserve the balm of Matareah;* Cambyses carried the peach into Egypt;† and it is thought to be out of doubt, that the cassia, the orange and lemon kind, apricot, moseh, a delicious fruit, but which cannot be kept, the pomegranate, the cous, or cream tree, are none of them natives of that country.‡ And can it be imagined then, that when novelties have been in all ages introduced into gardens, and that in the East as well as the West, there should not be any such in the days of a prince, who not only planted trees of all kinds of fruit for pleasure, Eccles. ii. 5, but who also distinguished himself by the study of natural history, and of vegetables in particular, 1 Kings iv. 33? What is more, Josephus expressly tells us, it was the tradition, that the balsam for which Judea was so famous, came from the queen of Sheba, who presented a root of it to Solomon.||

Nothing in this view could be more natural, than for the spouse to invite the bridegroom into a royal garden, among whose ancient precious productions, he had taken care to mingle some new plants of the most curious kind, which he might enjoy in the most perfect manner by going thither: *at our gates*, or, as it is elsewhere translated, *at our doors*, at hand, that is, you will there find all manner of precious plants.

The words, understood in this sense, are by no means unnatural, if they are, on the other hand, supposed to be those of the bridegroom.

* Maillet, let. 3, p. 111. † Let. 9, p. 15.

‡ Pococke's Desc. of the East, vol. 1, p. 205. || Antiq. lib. 8, c. 6.

OBSERVATION LXIV.

OF HUNTING IN THE HOLY LAND.

WHETHER Solomon, who amused himself with the study of plants, took also the diversion of hunting, we are not told; but there are various sorts of creatures in the Holy Land proper for this purpose: wild boars, antelopes, hares, &c. are in considerable numbers there, and one of the Christian kings of Jerusalem lost his life, we are told,* in pursuing one of the last mentioned animals. But what I mention this for, is to introduce a circumstance relating to the creatures with which they hunt, that I do not remember to have seen mentioned in any of the commentators, but to which a Prophet seems to refer, when he observes that the horses of the Chaldeans would be found swifter than leopards, Hab. i. 8; for leopards tamed, and taught to hunt, are, it is said, made use of in that country for hunting, and seize the prey with surprising agility.

So le Bruyn tells us, that he had often seen the bashaw of Gaza go to hunt jackalls, which are in that country in great numbers, and which he took by means of a leopard, trained to it from his youth. The hunter, he says, is wont to keep it before him upon his horse, and when he meets with a jackall, the leopard leaps down, and creeps along, till he thinks himself within reach of the beast; when, with incredible agility, he leaps upon it, throwing himself seventeen or eighteen feet at a time.†

If we suppose that this way of hunting was in use in the time of the Prophet Habakkuk, the image was sufficiently familiar to the common people, who might be supposed to be ignorant of what was done by the wild leopards in the deserts, and must be very striking.

* Gesta Dei, &c. p. 887, 888. † Tome 2, p. 154.

OBSERVATION LXV.

OF FOWLING IN THE HOLY LAND.

From hunting let us pass on to fowling. The famous Ludolphus, and after him bishop Patrick, and the late bishop of Clogher, believed that they were locusts, and not quails, that the children of Israel eat in the wilderness. Dr. Shaw strongly argues the contrary;* but he takes no notice of the difficulties which induced Patrick to suppose they were locusts, and which he gives an account of in his comment on Num. xi. 31, 32. They are these, Their coming with a wind; their immense quantities, covering a circle of thirty or forty miles, diameter two cubits thick; their being spread in the sun for drying, which, he says, would have been preposterous if they had been quails, for it would have made them stink the sooner; interpreters, therefore, he thinks, pass over this circumstance in silence, whereas all authors say, that this is the principal way of preparing locusts, to keep for a month or more, when they are boiled, or otherwise dressed.

These difficulties appear pressing; or at least the two last: nevertheless, I have met with several passages in books of travels, which I shall here give an account of, that may soften them; perhaps my reader may think they do more.

No interpreters, the bishop complains, supposing they were quails, account for the spreading them out in the sun. Perhaps they have not. Let me then translate a passage of Maillet,† which relates to a little island that covers one of the ports of Alexandria. "It is on this island, which lies further into the sea than the main land of Egypt, that the birds annually alight, which come

* Page 189. † Let. 4, p. 130.

kither for refuge in autumn, in order to avoid the severity of the cold of our winters in Europe. There is so large a quantity of all sorts taken there, that after these little birds have been stripped of their feathers, and buried in the burning sands for about half a quarter of an hour, they are worth but two sols the pound. The crews of those vessels, which in that season lay in the harbor of Alexandria, have no other meat allowed them." Among other refugees of that time, Maillet elsewhere* expressly mentions quails, which are, therefore, I suppose, treated after this manner. This passage then does what, according to the bishop, no commentator has done; it explains the design of spreading these creatures, supposing they were quails, round about the camp, it was to dry them in the burning sands, in order to preserve them for use. So Maillet tells us of their drying fish in the sun in Egypt, as well as of their preserving others by means of pickle.† Other authors speak of some of the Arabs drying camel's flesh in the sun and wind, which though it be not at all salted, will, if kept dry, remain good a long while, and which oftentimes, to save themselves the trouble of dressing, they will eat raw.‡ This is what St. Jerom may be supposed to refer to, when he calls the food of the Arabs *carnes semicrudæ.*||

This drying then of flesh in the sun, is not so preposterous as the bishop imagined. On the other hand, none of the authors that speak of their way of preserving locusts in the East, so far as I at present recollect, give any account of drying them in the sun. They are, according to Pellow, first purged with water and salt, boiled in new pickle, and then laid up in dry salt.§ So Dr. Russell says the Arabs eat these insects when fresh, and also salt them up as a delicacy.

* Let. 9, p. 21. † Let. 11, p. 110.

‡ Adventures of Thomas Pellow, p. 121. || In Vita Malchi Monachi.

§ Page 333.

Their immense quantities also forbad the bishop's believing they were quails. And, in truth, he represents this difficulty in all its force, perhaps too forcibly. A circle of forty miles in diameter, all covered with quails, to the depth of more than fortythree inches, without doubt is a startling representation of this matter; and I would beg leave to add, that the like quantity of locusts would have been very extraordinary. But then this is not the representation of Scripture. It does not even agree with it: for such a quantity of either quails or locusts would have made the clearing places for the spreading them out, and the passing of Israel up and down in the neighbourhood of the camp, very fatiguing; which is not supposed.

Josephus supposed they were quails, which he says,* are in greater numbers thereabouts than any other kind of bird; and that having crossed the sea to the camp of Israel, they, who in common fly nearer the ground than most other birds, flew so low, through the fatigue of their passage, as to be within reach of the Israelites. This explains what he thought was meant by *the two cubits from the face of the earth*, their flying within three or four feet of the ground.

And when I read Dr. Shaw's account of the way in which the Arabs frequently catch birds that they have tired, that is, by running in upon them, and knocking them down with their *zerwattys*, or bludgeons, as we should call them,† I think I almost see the Israelites before me, pursuing the poor fatigued and languid quails.

This is indeed a laborious method of catching these birds, and not that which is now used in Egypt; for Egmont and Heyman tell us, that in a walk on the shore of Egypt they saw a sandy plain, several leagues in extent, and covered with reeds, without the least verdure, between

* Antiq. lib. iii. cap. 1.

† Page 236. In which account the Doctor mentions the quail along with the woodcock, the rhaad, the kitawiah, and the partridge.

which reeds, they saw many nets placed for catching quails, which come over in large flights from Europe, during the month of September.* If the ancient Egyptians made use of the same method of catching quails that they now practise on those shores, yet Israel in the wilderness, without these conveniencies, must of course make use of that more inartificial and laborious way of catching them. The Arabs of Barbary, who have not many conveniencies, do the same thing still.

Bishop Patrick supposes a day's journey to be sixteen or twenty miles, and thence draws his circle with a radius of that length; but Dr. Shaw, on another occasion, makes a day's journey but ten miles,† which would make a circle but of twenty miles diameter; and as the text evidently designs to express it very indeterminately, as it were a day's journey, it might be much less.

But it does not appear to me at all necessary to suppose the text intended their covering a circular or nearly a circular spot of ground, but only that these creatures appeared on both sides of the camp of Israel, about a day's journey. The same word is used Exod. vii. 24, where *round about* can mean only on each side of the Nile. And so it may be a little illustrated by what Dr. Shaw tells us, of the three flights of storks which he saw when at anchor under the Mount Carmel, some of which were more scattered, others more compact and close, each of which took up more than three hours in passing, and extended itself more than half a mile in breadth.‡ Had this flight of quails been no greater than these, it might have been thought, like them, to have been accidental; but so unusual a flock as to extend fifteen or twenty miles in breadth, and to be two days and one night in passing, and this, in consequence of the declaration of Moses, plainly determined that the finger of God was there.

* Vol. ii. p. 206, 207. † Page 319. ‡ Page 409.

A third thing which was a difficulty with the bishop, was their being brought with a wind. A hot southerly wind, it is supposed, brings the locusts ; and why quails might not be brought by the instrumentality of a like wind, or what difficulty there is in that supposition, I cannot imagine. As soon as the cold is felt in Europe, Maillet tells us,* turtles, quails, and other birds, come to Egypt in great numbers; but he observed that their numbers were not so large in those years in which the winters were favourable in Europe ; from whence he conjectured, that it is rather necessity than habit which causes them to change their climate: if so, it appears that it is the increasing heat that causes their return, and consequently that the hot sultry winds from the south must have a great effect upon them, to direct their flight northward.

It is certain, that it is about the time that the south wind begins to blow in Egypt, which is in April,† that many of these migratory birds return. Maillet, who joins quails and turtles together, and says that they appear in Egypt when the cold begins to be felt in Europe, does not indeed tell us when they return; but Thevenot may be said to do it, for after he had told his reader that they catch snipes in Egypt from January to March, he adds, that in May they catch turtles; and that the turtles return again in September:‡ now as they go together southward in September, we may believe they return again northward much about the same time. Agreeably to which, Russell tells us, that quails appear in abundance about Aleppo in spring and autumn.||

If natural history were more perfect, we might speak to this point with great distinctness ; at present however, it is so far from being an objection to their being quails, that their coming was caused by a wind, that nothing is more natural. The same wind would, in course, occasion

* Let. ix. p. 21.

† Maillet, let. ii. p. 57, and let. xi. p. 109, 110.

‡ Part i. p. 247.

|| Vol. ii. p. 193.

sickness and mortality among the Israelites, at least it does so in Egypt.* The miraculousness then in this story does not lie in their dying, but the Prophet's foretelling with exactness the coming of that wind; and in the prodigious numbers of the quails that came with it; together with the unusualness of the place, perhaps, where they alighted.†

Nothing more remains to be considered, but the gathering so large a quantity as ten homers by those that gathered fewest. But till that quantity is more precisely ascertained, it is sufficient to remark, that this is only affirmed of those eager and expert sportsmen among the people, who pursued the game two whole days and whole night without intermission; and of them, and of them only, I presume it is to be understood, that he that gathered fewest, gathered ten homers.‡

* Maillet, let. ii. p. 57, Egmont and Heyman, vol. ii. p. 62.

† Shaw, p. 449.

‡ Hasselquist, who frequently expresses himself in the most dubious manner in relation to these animals, at other times is very positive, that if they were birds at all, they were a species of the quail different from ours, which he describes as very much resembling "the red partridge, but as not being larger than the turtledove." To this he adds, that the Arabians carry thousands of them to Jerusalem about Whitsuntide, to sell there, p. 442. In another place he tells us, it is found in Judea, as well as Arabia Petræa, and that he found it betwixt Jordan and Jericho, p. 208. One would imagine, that Hasselquist means the *kata*, which is described by Dr. Russell, vol. ii. p. 194, and which he represents as brought to market at Aleppo in great numbers, in May and June, though they are to be met with in all seasons. A whole ass load of them, he informs us, has often been taken at once shutting a claspingnet, in the abovementioned months, they are in such plenty.

OBSERVATION LXVI.

CRITICAL REMARKS ON THE KNEADING TROUGHS, SAID TO HAVE BEEN USED BY THE ISRAELITES ON THEIR LEAVING EGYPT.

Israel had been visited before this by a flock of quails,* though not near so numerous as that at Kibroth-Hattaavah: this fell out in the wilderness of Sin, about a month after their coming out of Egypt, until which time it seems the dough, or corn, which they brought with them, lasted. This leads us to some other remarks.

The dough, we are told, which the Israelites had prepared for baking, and on which it should seem they subsisted after they left Egypt for a month, was carried away by them in their kneading troughs on their shoulders, Exod. xii. 34. Now an honest thoughtful countryman, who knows how cumbersome our kneading troughs are, and how much less important they are than many other utensils, may be ready to wonder at this, and find a difficulty in accounting for it. But this wonder perhaps may cease, when he comes to understand, that the vessels which the Arabs of that country make use of, for kneading the unleavened cakes they prepared for those that travel in this very desert, are only small wooden bowls;† and that they seem to use no other in their own tents‡ for that purpose, or any other, these bowls being used by them for kneading their bread, and afterward serving up their provisions when cooked:‖ for then it will appear, that nothing could be more convenient than kneading troughs of this sort for the Israelites, in their journey.

I am, however, a little doubtful, whether these were the things that Moses meant by that word which our version

* Exod. xvi. 1, 8, 13.

† See Shaw's Pref. p. 11, 12.

‡ Shaw, p. 231.

‖ Shaw's Pref. p. 13.

renders *kneading troughs;* since it seems to me, that the Israelites had made a provision of corn sufficient for their consumption for about a month, and that they were preparing to bake all this at once: now their own little wooden bowls, in which they were wont to knead the bread they wanted for a single day, could not contain all this dough, nor could they well carry a number of these things, borrowed of the Egyptians for the present occasion, with them.

That they had furnished themselves with corn sufficient for a month, appears from their not wanting bread till they came into the wilderness of Sin; that the Eastern people commonly bake their bread daily, as they want it, appears from an observation I have already made, and from the history of the patriarch Abraham; and that they were preparing to bake bread sufficient for this purpose at once, seems most probable, from the universal bustle they were in, and from the much greater conveniencies for baking in Egypt than in the wilderness, which are such, that though Dr. Shaw's attendants sometimes baked in the desert, he thought fit, notwithstanding, to carry biscuit with him,* and Thevenot the same.†

They could not well carry such a quantity of dough in those wooden bowls, which they used for kneading their bread in common. What is more, Dr. Pococke tells us,‡ that the Arabs actually carry their dough in something else: for, after having spoken of their copper dishes put one within another, and their wooden bowls, in which they make their bread, and which make up all the kitchen furniture of an Arab, even where he is settled; he gives us a description of a round leather coverlid, which they lay on the ground, and serves them to eat off, which, he says, has rings round it, by which it is drawn together

* Pref. p. 11. † Part i. p. 178.

‡ In his account of the diet and utensils of the inhabitants of Egypt, vol. i. p. 182, &c.

with a chain that has a hook to it to hang it by. This is drawn together, he says, and sometimes they carry in it their meal made into dough; and in this manner they bring it full of bread, and, when the repast is over, carry it away at once, with all that is left.

Whether this utensil is rather to be understood by the word משארות *misharoth*, translated *kneading troughs*, than the Arab wooden bowl, I leave my reader to determine. I would only remark, that there is nothing, in the other three places, in which the word occurs, to contradict this explanation. These places are Exod. viii. 3, Deut. xxviii. 5, 17, in the two last of which places it is translated *store*.

It is more than a little astonishing, to find Grotius, in his comment on Exod. xii. 39, explaining that verse as signifying, that they baked no bread in their departing from Egypt, but stayed till they came to Succoth, because they had not time to stay till it was leavened in Egypt; when it is certain that they were so hurried out of Egypt, as to be desired not to stay to bake unleavened bread; nor can we imagine they would stay till leaven put into it at Succoth, had produced its effect in their dough, since travellers now in that desert often eat unleavened bread, and the precepts of Moses, relating to their commemoration of their going out of Egypt, suppose they eat unleavened bread for some time.

Succoth, the first station then of the Israelites, which Dr. Shaw supposes* was nothing more than some considerable encampment of Arabs, must have been a place where there was a considerable quantity of broom, or other fuel, which is not to be found in that desert every where.

* Page 308.

OBSERVATION LXVII.

EAGLES FOND OF CEDARS.

The Prophet Ezekiel represents an eagle as flying to the cedars of Lebanon;* and it seems there is a foundation in nature for the joining this bird and these trees together.

It is not to be expected, that the visionary representations made to the Prophets should always coincide with natural history, but it seems this does. "We employed the rest of the day," says la Roque, in speaking of the spot where the cedars of Lebanon grow, "in attentively surveying the beauties of this place, and of its neighbourhood, in measuring some of the cedars, and in cutting off many of their branches, with their cones, which we sent to Bsciarrai, with a number of a large eagle's feathers, which were found in the same place."†

OBSERVATION LXVIII.

OF THEIR REPOSITORIES FOR CORN, IN THE EAST.

Dr. Shaw tells us,‡ that in Barbary, when the grain is winnowed, they lodge it in *mattamores*, or subterraneous repositories; two or three hundred of which are sometimes together, the smallest holding four hundred bushels. These are very common in other parts of the East, and are in particular mentioned by Dr. Russell,‖ as being in great numbers near Aleppo, about the villages, which make travelling there in the night very dangerous,

* Ezek. xvii. 3. † Voy. de Syrie & du Mont Liban. p. 88.

‡ Page 139. ‖ Vol. i. p. 76.

the entry into them being only left open when they are empty.

The like method of keeping corn obtains in the Holy Land: le Bruyn speaks of deep pits at Rama, which he was told were designed for corn;* and Rauwolff talks of three very large vaults at Joppa, actually used for the laying up grain when he was there.† The treasures in the field, of wheat, and of barley, of oil, and of honey, which the ten men proposed to Ishmael as a ransom for their lives, Jer. xli. 8, were doubtless laid up in the same kind of repositories.

Dr. Shaw only speaks of the Arabs hiding corn in these mattamores; but as these ten Jews mentioned their having honey and oil in these repositories, so the author of the history of the Piratical States of Barbary, tells us,‡ that it is usual with the Arabs, when they expect the armies of Algiers, to secure their corn and other effects that are not portable, in subterraneous repositories, wandering about with their flocks, till the troops are returned to their quarters.

After this, the remark on this passage of Jeremiah, in the assembly's annotations, must extremely hurt a reader, and the more, when we consider it as the note of so considerable a man as Gataker. "I cannot assent to that learned interpreter, who renders the word, "We have treasures hidden in a certain field:" . . . for howsoever the term here used springs from a root that signifies to *hide*, and treasures are said sometimes to be *hidden*, Essay xlv. 3; yet the word in general signifies *treasures*, or *stores*, whether hidden or other, Gen. xliii. 23. Nor is it probable that such stores as these, of so many sorts, should be hidden under ground in some one part of a field; and much less that all ten should so bestow their stores in any one place."

He objects to the hiding under ground, when these subterraneous repositories are so common; to the laying

* Vol. ii. p. 149, 150. † Tome i. p. 227. ‡ Page 57.

up there so many sorts of things, when every thing not portable is wont to be put into them; he cannot think that ten men should so bestow their goods, in any one place, when it appears from Shaw, that two or three hundred mattamores are sometimes together; in one word, Gataker, the very learned Gataker, supposed that to be highly improbable, which was perfectly according to the custom of the East,* and especially in a time of difficulty and depredation, as that most certainly was. A striking proof this, of the importance of attending to the remaining customs of Eastern antiquity, in a commentator on the Scriptures.

Pitts, who mentions these subterraneous barns, tells us, that they put straw at the bottom and sides of these places; nevertheless, he gives us to understand, that though by this artful concealment of it their corn is preserved, when they are put to flight by the bey, it is much damnified, being kept in so damp a place instead of a barn.†

Be it so: the danger of being robbed by the roving troops of people that scoured the country at that time, was a sufficient cause to induce these ten men to hide their wheat, their barley, their oil, their honey, in the ground. Dr. Shaw, however, does not acquiesce in this as the cause of this management, though Hirtius long ago supposed it was, but thought it more probable that they were contrived in those earlier ages, as they continued to be used to this day, for the greater ease and convenience of the inhabitants; for it cannot be supposed, he says, that either the ancient Nomades, or the present Arabs, would be at

* So Sir J. Chardin tells us, in a note on Jer. xli. 8, that the Eastern people, in many places, hide their corn thus, as I have seen in an hundred places of Turkey. In many they also bury their wine. This is done in the neighbourhood of the villages, and designed both to prevent their enemies finding these things, and also their great people that might pass that way, who would not pay them for what they took.

† Page 34.

the expense of erecting store houses of stone, when they could, at a much cheaper rate, and at every station, where they are encamped to gather in the harvest, be served with these.*

This reasoning, from the expense being less, would certainly be conclusive, were it not for the account of Pitts, relating to the injury the corn is wont to receive by being buried, of which Shaw takes no notice. Perhaps then to account for the use of these subterraneous barns in times or places of safety, we are to have recourse to what some travellers assure us is fact, that the corn of those countries is subject to be eaten by worms if kept in the open air,† which, with the cheapness of making these repositories, may be thought a sufficient balance against the injury it receives by being buried.

OBSERVATION LXIX.

RUINS FREQUENTED BY DIFFERENT KINDS OF VERMIN.

Bats, and other vermin, haunt old ruinated places. So Thevenot, describing the open pyramid, tells us, there were a great many bats in it, which sometimes put out the candles which are made use of in examining that most ancient building; that a particular hole which he describes, had a great quantity of their dung in it; and that they so swarmed there, that a Scotch gentleman, who was in the company, and seems alone to have had the courage to go down into it, was afraid he should have been eaten up by them.‡

Egmont and Heyman mention the same circumstance, but enrich their account with the addition of owls, snakes,

* Page 139, 140.

† See Sandys, p. 117. Fulcherius Carnotensis mentions the same thing, Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 427.

‡ Part 1, p. 82.

and other reptiles; for which reason they thought it necessary to fire off some pistols before they ventured into the pyramids, these creatures being by that means frightened away to their lurking places.*

I do not know how accurate they are in mentioning snakes in the pyramid; but it is certain, in buildings more ruinated than that, such dangerous kinds of reptiles are very common; so that Rauwolff in his account of Babylon tells us, some of its ruins are so full of vermin, that they have bored holes through them, that one may not come near them within half a mile, but only two months in the winter, when they came not out of their holes.†

Are we not rather to understand the words of the Prophet Isaiah, ch. ii. 20, which seems to signify diggers of holes, of this sort of animals rather than of moles, which a single Hebrew term is supposed to express, Lev. xi. 30, and which have no connection, that I know of, with ruins? For the thought of the Prophet seems to me to be, that the inhabitants of that country were to go into the holes of the rocks, and into the caves of the earth, to hide themselves from the vengeance of the LORD, to be executed by hostile armies,‡ leaving their temples, with their idols in them, to be demolished by their hands; in which state of desolation these idols should long lie, companions of those that are wont to bore holes in ruins, and also of bats, the frequenters of such destroyed places; not that they were to carry their idols into caves and holes of the earth, to secrete them from their enemies.

OBSERVATION LXX.

CURIOUS METHOD OF SEALING THE PLACES WHERE THE STORES OF THE GRAND SIGNIOR ARE KEPT.

THE birds pillage the granary of Joseph extremely, where the corn of Egypt is deposited that is paid as a tax

* Vol. ii. p. 87. † Ray's Travels, tome i. p. 165. ‡ 1 Sam. xiii. 6.

to the Grand Signior, for it is quite uncovered at the top, there being little or no rain in that country; its doors however are kept carefully sealed, but its inspectors do not make use of wax upon this occasion, but put their seal upon a handful of clay, with which they cover the lock of the door.* This serves instead of wax; and it is visible, things of the greatest value might be safely sealed up in the same manner.

Had Junius known this circumstance, or had he at least reflected on it, he would not perhaps have explained Job xxxviii. 14, *It is turned as clay to the seal*, of the potters adorning clay with various paintings, or various embossings;† especially had he considered, that the productions of the wheel of the potter, in the age and the country of Job, were, in all probability, very clumsy, unadorned things, since even still in Egypt, the ancient source of arts, the ewer, which is made, according to Norden,‡ very clumsy, is one of the best pieces of earthen ware that they have there, all the art of the potter, in that country, consisting in an ability to make some vile pots or dishes, without varnish.

OBSERVATION LXXI.

OF THE MODE OF SENDING PETITIONS TO THE EASTERN PRINCES.

As they use not wax in sealing up doors, but clay, so they use ink, not wax, in sealing their writings in the East. So d'Arvieux tells us,|| that "the Arabs of the desert, when they want a favour of their Emir, get his secretary to write an order agreeable to their desire, as if the favour

* Norden, part i. p. 72. Dr. Pococke gives a similar account, only, says the corn is covered with matting, vol. i. p. 26.

† Vide Poli Synopsis in loco. ‡ Part 1, p. 82.

|| Voy. dans la Pal. p. 154.

was granted: this they carry to the prince, who, after having read it, sets his seal to it with ink, if he grants it; if not, he returns the petitioner his paper torn, and dismisses him." In another place he informs us, that "these papers are without date, and have only the Emir's flourish or cypher at the bottom, signifying, *The poor, the abject Mehemet, son of Turabeye.*"*

Two things appear in these passages. The one, that the Arab seals have no figure engraven on them, but a simple inscription, formed, with some art, into a kind of cypher; the other, that when they seal, they do not make an impression on wax, but stamp letters of ink on the paper.†

The modern inhabitants of Egypt appear to make use of ink in their sealing, as well as the Arabs of the desert, who may be supposed not to have such conveniencies as those that live in such a place as Egypt: for Dr. Pococke says,‡ that "they make the impression of their name with their seal, generally of cornelian, which they wear on their finger, and which is blacked when they have occasion to seal with it."

This may serve to show us, that there is a closer connexion between the vision of St. John, Rev. vii. 2, and that of Ezekiel, ch. ix. 2, than commentators appear to have apprehended. They must be joined, I imagine, to have a complete view of either. St. John saw an angel with the seal of the living GOD, and therewith multitudes were sealed in their foreheads; but to understand what sort of a mark was made there, you must have recourse

* Page 61.

† I have seen multitudes of *Arabic* and *Persian seals*, and have never observed one with any kind of *figure* or image on it. The *inscription*, which is generally the name and titles of the owner, is always a highly finished piece of *Calligraphy*. I have seen also many *Firmans*, &c. signed with the hand of the Sultan, Emperor, &c. but never saw any *wax* or similar substance affixed: they have simply the name in a curiously *involved* cypher. EDIT.

‡ Vol. 1, p. 186, Notes.

to the inkhorn of Ezekiel. On the other hand, Ezekiel saw a person equipped with an inkhorn, who was to mark the servants of God on their foreheads, with ink that is, but how the ink was to be applied is not expressed; nor was there any need that it should, if in those times ink was applied with a seal being in the one case plainly supposed; as in the Apocalypse, the mention of a seal made it needless to take any notice of an inkhorn by his side.

This position of the inkhorn of Ezekiel's writer may appear somewhat odd to an European reader, but the custom of placing it by the side continues in the East to this day. Olearius, who takes notice* of a way that they have of thickening their ink with a sort of paste they make, or with sticks of Indian ink, which is the best paste of all, a circumstance favourable to their sealing with ink, observes,† that the Persians carried about with them, by means of their girdles, a dagger, a knife, a handkerchief, and their money; and those that follow the profession of writing out books, their inkhorn, their penknife, their whetstone to sharpen it, their letters, and every thing the Moscovites were wont in his time to put in their boots, which served them instead of pockets. The Persians, in carrying their inkhorns after this manner, seem to have retained a custom as ancient as the days of Ezekiel; while the Moscovites, whose garb was very much in the Eastern taste in the days of Olearius, and who had many Oriental customs among them, carried their inkhorns and their papers in a very different manner. Whether some such variations might cause the Egyptian translators of the Septuagint version to render the words, *a girdle of sapphire, or embroidery on the loins*, I will not take upon me to affirm; but I do not imagine our Dr. Castell would have adopted this sentiment in his Lexicon,‡ had he been

* Voy. en Moscovie &c. p. 857.

† P. 817. Dr. Shaw also speaks of their writers suspending their inkhorns by their side. I should not therefore have taken any notice of this circumstance, had not the account of Olearius led us to something further.

‡ See Lowth upon the place.

aware of this Eastern custom: for with great propriety is the word קסת *keseth* mentioned in this chapter three times, if it signified an *inkhorn*, the requisite instrument for sealing those devout mourners; but no account can be given why this קסת should be mentioned so often, if it only signified an *embroidered girdle*.

As to the other point relating to the Arab seals; their having no figures upon them, only an inscription, it is to be thought that those of the Jews were in like manner without any images, since they were as scrupulous as the Mohammedans can be; and from hence it will appear, that it was extremely natural for St. Paul to make a seal and an inscription equivalent terms, in 2 Tim. ii. 19; *The foundation of* God *standeth sure, having this seal,* this inscription, *The* Lord *knoweth those that are his; and let every one that nameth the name of* Christ *depart from iniquity.*

OBSERVATION LXXII.

OF THE MANNER OF REAPING IN THE EAST.

We have frequently had occasion to speak of corn in the course of these papers, but I have, however, never yet taken notice of the way of *reaping* it, which, according to an observation made by Mr. Maundrell, in his return from Jerusalem,* is performed in the East, by plucking it up by handsful from the roots, leaving the most fruitful fields as naked as if nothing had grown there. This was their practice, he says, in all places of the East which he had seen, and from thence he concludes that our old version of Ps. cxxix. 6, "Which withereth afore it be plucked up," in which there seems to be a manifest allusion to this custom, is better than our new translation.

* Page 144.

I cannot however, I confess, be of the opinion of this very ingenious author in this point: because the Hebrew word שלף *shalaph* which is commonly used for *reaping*, does by no means signify plucking up, but shortening, which is most naturally explained by cutting; and I have no where remarked the idea of plucking up, applied to the reaping of their corn, unless we are to understand the passage so, for the original word שלף *shalaph*, used by the Psalmist, appears no where else but in the sense of unsheathing a sword, and drawing off a shoe. I am therefore at a loss to judge on what grounds Maundrell so much prefers the old translation, unless we are to ascribe it to his being struck, at his first arrival in those countries, with their manner of reaping, and that, recollecting this old translation, he was pleased with the thought, and gave himself no trouble to examine it. The idea of the Psalmist in reality seems to be, "Which withereth before it unsheaths its ear."

When Mr. Maundrell made his observation, he had seen no great part of these countries; though therefore then he had always seen them plucking up their harvest, it does not follow that it is universally their way, much less that it was so anciently. It is allowed that it is now very common in the East, it is not however universal: for though Dr. Pococke found it was plucked up in the neighbourhood of Damascus;* yet a few days after, upon his leaving Hems, the ancient Emesa, he found they reaped their corn in those parts, and he expressly remarks, the difference that obtain between these two places.† So Dr. Russell, in his description of Aleppo and its neighbourhood, tells us,‡ the corn is sometimes cut down, though more frequently plucked up: "As soon as it is cut down, or rather plucked up, for this is their more usual way, it is carried to some neighbouring spot of hard even ground," &c. Maundrell was chaplain to the

* Vol. 2, p. 130. † Page 142. ‡ Vol. i. p. 75.

English factory at Aleppo, near which, according to Russell, both ways are made use of; but we are to remember his book was drawn up presently after his arrival there, and his observation therefore by no means to be opposed to Russell's account.

Both ways then are in use in the Levant at this time; and from what has been said, we are led to conclude, the old Jewish way was in common to *cut down*. To which may be added, that we read of a *sickle* for reaping, in no fewer than four different places, Deut. xvi. 9, ch. xxiii. 25, Jer. l. 16, Joel iii. 13, which confirms the conjecture drawn from the sense of the word used to express reaping; and when in the second of these we find an opposition made between plucking the ears with the hand, and moving a sickle into a neighbour's standing corn, the first permitted, and the other forbidden, just as immediately before they were permitted to eat what they pleased of the grapes of a neighbour's vineyard, but not to put any in a vessel, one can hardly imagine that reaping was ever performed in the days of Moses, in Egypt or Canaan, by *plucking up*.

OBSERVATION LXXIII.

OXEN EMPLOYED IN CARRYING BURTHENS ON THEIR BACKS.

Dandini seems to have been surprised to see oxen employed to carry burdens upon their backs, like camels, mules, and asses, such as wood, and other necessaries, when he was making his observations on the customs of the East, at Tripoli of Syria, contrary to the old saying,

*Optat ephippia bos piger, optat arare caballus.**

* Ch. 6.

And he repeats the same remarks in the close of this account.*

But it appears from 1 Chron. xii. 40, that it was an ancient, as it is a modern, Eastern practice: *Moreover, they that were nigh them, even unto Issachar, and Zebulon, and Napthali, brought bread on asses, and on camels, and on mules, and on oxen, and meat, meal, cakes of figs,* &c.

OBSERVATION LXXIV.

HAY RARELY MADE IN THE EAST. WHAT IS MEANT BY THE "KING'S MOWINGS." AMOS vii. 1.

About the time that they repair to the gardens at Aleppo,† they began to lead out the cattle to feed in the common pastures of Judea, those that tended them dwelling in huts, which they erected for that purpose; for the old Jewish writers tell us, that this was done about the time of the Passover,‡ which fell out generally some time in April.

This account agrees with that circumstance the Prophet mentions, Amos vii. 1, of the appearance of locusts which he saw, in a vision, devouring the grass of the land, *in the beginning of the shooting up of the latter growth, and lo, it was the latter growth after the king's mowings.* This, however, does not immediately appear; and some mistakes relating to this text ought to be rectified.

Shaw observes,|| and other authors confirm it, that hay is seldom, if ever, made in those countries. Our translators then are out, in making use of that word *hay* in some parts of their version; and, on the same ground, the term

* "We saw there, *Alexandretta* or *Scandaroon*, oxen and bufflers carry burdens upon their backs, as mules and horses do in Italy."

† See Observation LII.

‡ Gem. Nedarim 63, apud Rel. Antiq. Sac. || Page 138.

גזזים *gezzeem, mowings;* in his text cannot be proper. The famous Mercer supposes,* the *latter growth* signifies the grass that sprung up after mowing, or feeding it down; and I presume the Hebrew word translated mowing, may signify *feeding down*, as well as *cutting down* with a scythe, and does so signify, since it is not the usage of the East to *make hay*. The *king's mowings* then should be rendered the *king's feedings* in the first place.

In the next, there is reason to conjecture, from the following passage of la Roque,† that the time of the king's feedings was the month of March, or thereabouts: "The Arabs," he tells us, from the papers of d'Arvieux, "turn their horses out to grass in the month of March, when the grass is pretty well grown; they then take care to have their mares covered, and they eat grass at no other time in the whole year, any more than hay: they never give them any straw but to heat them, when they have been some time without discovering an inclination to drink; they live wholly upon barley."

The Arab horses are all designed for riding and war; so, there is reason to believe, were those of the kings of Israel:‡ and if the present usages of the Arabs prevailed anciently, they were turned out early in the spring, in the month of March, and at other times were nourished with barley. These things seem to determine the time of the king's feedings to March, of the shooting up of the latter growth of April.

This last circumstance is confirmed by the locusts, mentioned by the Prophet, which appear in the Holy Land in April and May;|| for though our translators here call them grasshoppers, and *green worms* in the margin, the word is elsewhere by them rendered *locusts*, Is.

* Vide Poli Syn. in loc. † Voy. dans la Pal. p. 168.

‡ Dr. Russell tells us, the plowing of Syria is performed often by a little cow, at most with two, and sometimes only by an ass, vol. i. p. 73. Carriages also were anciently drawn by cows, 1 Sam vi. 7.

|| Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 424.

xxxiii. 4, and it appears by the mischief they did, that they were really insects of that kind.

The horses of the powerful kings of Israel were very numerous, as appears by the account we have of Solomon's. Uzziah and Jeroboam, in whose time Amos prophesied, were very powerful princes. They appear to have been very careful of them, and as we may collect from Ahab's great concern, in a time of drought, to get grass for the horses and mules, when nothing is said about his solicitude for other cattle. Where should these horses, kept for the defence of the kingdom, be put to grass, but in the common pastures, during the month of March? A prohibition to the subjects to turn in their flocks and their herds, till this time was past, was natural.

These things, put together, place the whole in a very easy light; as well as show the extreme impropriety of the interpretation of Vatablus, who imagines this latter growth refers to the springing of the grass afresh, upon the falling of the rain in autumn. Locusts are not wont, I think, to appear at that time; and if they had, the loss of feed would have been little or nothing to the inhabitants, according to these old Jewish writers; for they affirm, that on the falling of the first rains the herds returned home; whereas we are to suppose the vision of Amos represented to him the coming of locusts to eat up the feed, as soon as the king's horses were withdrawn, and the inhabitants hoped to enjoy the plenty of April and May, before the scorching heat of summer withered the grass, at the end of the last of these months.

OBSERVATION LXXV.

GIVING A PERSON DRINK, THE STRONGEST ASSURANCE THAT CAN BE GIVEN IN THE EAST, OF RECEIVING A PERSON INTO PROTECTION.

JAEL certainly showed her regard to Israel by destroying Sisera, but it is as certain that she did not do it in

the most honorable manner, there was treachery in it; perhaps, in the estimation of those people, the greatest treachery: for among the later Arabs, the giving a person a drink, has been thought to be the strongest assurance of receiving him under protection. If the same notion obtained anciently, Jael must in consequence have been considered as extremely treacherous.

D'Herbelot occasionally mentions this Arab point of honor, in page 371; and more distinctly in the articles of Harmozan and Saladine: in the last of which he tells, that when Guy de Lusignan king of Jerusalem, was taken prisoner, and was conducted before Saladine, he demanded drink, and they gave him fresh water, which he drank in Saladine's presence; but when one of his lords would have done the same, Saladine would not suffer it, because he did not intend to spare his life; on the contrary, advancing to him, after some expostulation, he cut off his head.*

If this Arab custom was in use among the Kenites, who were Arabs, in Sisera's time, her giving him drink was the strongest assurance she could give, that she would protect him as far as she could. The custom however might possibly be later than her days.

* The account is given by Abu'l Feda, and is very curious: it relates to the death of the famous Renaud or Arnald, prince of Caracca, who, being taken prisoner at the bloody battle of Hillen, in which the crusades were totally defeated by Salahedeen, was killed by the Sultan in his own tent. The words of Abu'l Feda, are the following; "And when the battle was ended, the Sultan seated himself in his tent, and sent for the king of the Franks, and placed him by his side; and the heat and thirst were tormenting to him; then the Sultan presented to him liquor cooled with snow, and the king of the Franks, having drank, offered it to prince Arnald of Caracca; but the Sultan said to him, "This wretch shall not drink of the water with my permission, in which there would be safety for him." Then the Sultan addressed the prince, and reviled and upbraided him for his perfidy, and his attempts on the two sacred cities, *Mecca* and *Medina*; and the Sultan rose up himself, and smote him on the neck," i. e. cut off his head. EDIT.

OBSERVATION LXXVI.

OF RAISING HEAPS OF STONES, IN COMMEMORATION OF REMARKABLE TRANSACTIONS.

Bishop Patrick, in his commentary on 2 Sam. xviii. 17, which mentions the laying a great heap of stones upon Absalom, observes that thus he was, after a sort, stoned: as the law ordered a rebellious son to be. And that Adricomius, in his description of the Holy Land, says that this heap remained to his days; and that all travellers, as they went by it, were wont to throw a stone to add to the heap, in detestation of his rebellion against his father.

And after this manner this Eastern custom is, I think, commonly understood: but if it be true, which Egmont and Heyman tell us, that all the Mohammedans that go in pilgrimage to Mount Sinai, never fail to visit the place where there is the print of a camel's foot on the rock, supposed to be that of Mohammed, on which account they, by way of respect, bring with them a stone, which has occasioned a great heap of stones near that spot;* it is evident that these heaps are considered by the Eastern people merely as monuments to keep up the memory of certain events, good as well as bad; and that the adding a stone to them, by every one that approaches them, is in truth only intended to prevent the dissipation of these uncemented memorials.

The first raising this heap of stones over Absalom was, in like manner, intended merely as a memorial of this battle, and of the place in which he lay buried; and by no means as a kind of executing the law relating to rebellious sons upon him, like the hanging people in effigy: as we may conclude from their being wont then, as well as now, to have heaps of stones for the preserving pleasing things

* Vol. 2, p. 167.

in remembrance, as well as facts that deserved detestation, which plainly appears from Josh. iv. 3, 6,† and from Gen. xxxi. 46, 52.

Wortley Montague in the fiftysixth volume of the Philosophical Transactions, has taken notice also of this, and the index of that volume very justly describes it as a remarkable custom of the Arabs. "The Arabs," says that gentleman, "when they have any stone, or spot in veneration, as Mohammed's stone, and the like, after their devotion, lay some smooth stone upon it." And he tells us, that the stone that Moses struck twice, being thus distinguished by the Arabs, engaged his notice, as he was travelling in the deserts of Arabia.

I would beg leave here to ask, was not this precisely what was done to the stone set up by Jacob, in Mount Gilead, as a memorial of the covenant made between him and Laban, when he withdrew from Padanaram, which is mentioned in the last cited Scripture? I have sometimes wondered, what induced Jacob to desire his Syrian relations to gather stones, and make a heap, upon or about, that great stone he had set up in memory of that covenant; but this account seems to decypher it: Jacob had not time, if he had proper tools with him, and skill sufficient, to engrave the agreement on the great stone; but the placing these stones about it, informed every passenger it was set up in memory of something of consequence; and every relation that put one of these smaller stones on that Jacob set up, made himself a witness to the agreement as well as recommended it to the attention of others. It is in this light I now consider this circumstance, and it seems to be a natural explanation of Jacob's request.

† See also Dr. Shaw's preface, p. 10.

OBSERVATION LXXVII.

OF RENDERING FIELDS UNFRUITFUL, BY FILLING THEM WITH STONES.

COMMENTATORS take no pains, that I know of, to account for that part of the punishment of the king of Moab's rebellion; *Ye shall mar every good piece of land with stones*, though it does not appear very easy to conceive how this was to be done to any purpose, and indeed without giving as much trouble, or more, to Israel to gather these stones, and carry them on their lands, as to the Moabites to gather them up again, and carry them off.

I would therefore propose it to the learned to consider, whether we may not understand this of Israel's doing that nationally, and as victors, which was done by private persons very frequently in these countries in ancient times, by way of revenge, and which is mentioned in some of the old Roman laws, I think, cited by Egmont and Heyman,* who, speaking of the contentions and vindictive temper of the Arabs, tell us, they were ignorant, however, whether they still retained the method of revenge formerly common among them, and which is called σκοπελισμος, mentioned in *Lib. ff. Digest. de extraord. criminib.* which contains the following account. *In provincia Arabia*, &c. That is, "in the province of Arabia, there is a crime called σκοπελισμος, or fixing of stones; it being a frequent practice among them, to place stones in the grounds of those with whom they are at variance, as a warning, that any person who dares to till that field, should infallibly be slain, by the contrivance of those who placed the stones there." This malicious practice, they add, is thought to have had its origin in Arabia Petræa.

If the Israelites, as victors, who could prescribe what laws they thought proper to the conquered, placed such

* Vol. 2, p. 156.

stones in the best grounds of the Moabites, as interdicting them from tillage, on pain of their owners being destroyed, they without much trouble effectually marred such fields as long as their power over Moab lasted, which had before this continued some time, and by the suppression of this rebellion might be supposed to continue long. As it was an ancient practice in these countries, might it not be supposed to be as ancient as the times of Elisha, and that he referred to it ?

Perhaps *the time to cast away stones*, and *the time to gather stones together*, mentioned by the royal Preacher, Eccles. iii. 5, is to be understood, in like manner, of giving to nations with which there had been contests, the marks of perfect reconciliation, or continuing upon them some tokens of displeasure and resentment. If we suppose the latter part of the verse is exegetical of the former, which the learned know is very common in the Hebrew poetry, it will better agree with this explanation, than with that which supposes, that the *casting away of stones* means the *demolishing of houses*, and the *gathering them together*, the *collecting them for building ;* since the casting away of stones answers to embracing, in the latter part of the verse, not to the refraining from embracing. It may be supposed indeed that a transposition might be intended, such an one appears in the eighth verse ; but it is to be observed, that the eighth verse finishes this catalogue of different seasons, and there is no transposition in the other particulars. To which may be added, that this explanation makes the casting away of stones, and gathering them together, of the fifth verse, precisely the same thing with the breaking down and building up of the third : the supposing a greater variety of thought here will be no dishonor to the royal poet.

OBSERVATION LXXVIII.

OF PRETENDED DIVINATION BY CUPS.

When Norden was at Derri, in the furthest part of Egypt, or rather in Nubia, in a very dangerous situation, from which he and his company endeavoured to extricate themselves by exerting great spirit; a spiteful and powerful Arab, in a threatening way, told one of their people, whom they sent to him, "that he knew what sort of people they were, that he *consulted his cup*, and had found by it, that they were those of whom one of their prophets had said, that Franks would come in disguise, and passing every where, examine the state of the country, and afterward bring over a great number of other Franks, conquer the country, and exterminate all."*

No one, I imagine, supposes that he meant any thing more by consulting his cup, than we do when we talk of *consulting our pillow*. Was it not however precisely the same thing, that this Arab who lived in the confines of Egypt, and Joseph the Egyptian viceroy, meant, when the one talked of having *consulted* his cup, and the other of *divining* by it, Gen. xliv. 5? It is certain, the Patriarch could not mean to make them believe the cup was, properly speaking, an instrument of divination, because he divined without it, and made out which way he had lost it. May not both then be supposed to mean that alertness and penetration which wine, taken in a proper quantity, gives the mind? It is certain there is a great similarity in these expressions, whatever be the precise meaning of the words of Joseph.†

* Vol. 2, p. 150. How nearly has this been fulfilled by the French? And is there not a great probability that the prediction shall yet have its full accomplishment? Edit.

† The viceroy meant nothing of what Mr. Harmer here imagines. He evidently alludes to the famous *divining cup* of Jemsheed, well known in the Eastern romances by the name of جام جم *jami jem*, or جام جمشيد

OBSERVATION LXXIX.

CURIOUS REMARKS ON GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

GENEALOGICAL tables were kept among the Jews with great exactness. Every person of learning however knows, that the great difference in this point between St. Matthew and St. Luke, who have each of them given us a genealogy of our LORD, has greatly embarrassed the curious, and did so early.* But as in other cases, what was at first thought an objection against the sacred writer, has turned out in his favour, so doubtless will this when it be thoroughly cleared up. Time may perhaps do it; all I would attempt to show here is, that there has been lately discovered an inscription at Palmyra which has just the same difficulty. He that clears up the Syrian difficulty, will, I presume, clear up the sacred. To which I would add, that it is to be remembered, that Palmyra was in the neighbourhood of Judea, and the inscriptions that are found there are about the apostolic age.

As to the inscription I refer to, the ingenious editor of those ruins observed, that it was more difficult to understand than translate it. "This," says he, "will appear by rendering it literally, which is easiest done in Latin, thus: *Senatus populusque, Alialamenem, Pani filium, Mocimi nepotem Æranis pronepotem, Mathæ abnepotem, et Æranem patrem ejus, viros pios et patriæ amicos, & omnimodi placentes patriæ patriisque diis, honoris gratia anno* 450, *mense Aprili.*

jami jemsheed, which was supposed to represent the whole world and all that was passing in it. The oriental fabulists suppose that both Alexander the great, and Solomon king of Israel, had such a cup, and that they *divined* by it. The Egyptian viceroy, from a principle of vain glory, and supposing he should surely terrify Norden and his company into his measures, pretended that he had a cup similar to that of *Jemsheed.* EDIT.

* Vide August. Retract. lib. ii. cap. 7.

"Our difficulty is," continues he, "that Æranes is called the father of Alialamenes, who* is called the son of Panus."

Mr. Wood, the editor, has given us the inscription, and remarked the difficulty: but he has not applied it to the genealogies of our LORD, where just in the same manner, St. Matthew tells us, that Jacob begat Joseph, and St. Luke calls Joseph the son of Heli. There is something, without doubt, in these affairs peculiar to the East, which however unknown to us, was common to the Jews and the people of Palmyra, and will, when properly explained, be a proof of the authenticity of these genealogies, instead of an objection to them.

I would not however be understood to affirm that the true solution is unknown; possibly all that may be wanted, is the more thoroughly evincing the truth of it, and explaining the matter more at large.

OBSERVATION LXXX.

OF THE TERM EVERLASTING FATHER, AS APPLIED TO OUR LORD, ISAIAH IX. 6.

EVERY body almost knows, that it is usual, in Scripture language, to describe the qualities or relations of a person, by calling him the *son* of *such* and *such a thing*; but people are not as generally aware, that it is usual to point out the same thing by calling him the *father* of *this* and that *thing*; yet this is really the fact, and an attention to it is requisite to a due understanding of some places in Scripture.

Dr. Shaw has mentioned this Eastern custom, but he has not applied it: it will not be improper then to do it in these papers. Speaking of an African marabbot, or

* Alialamenes.

saint, the doctor tells us, that it was affirmed that "he had a solid iron bar, which, upon command, would give the same noise with a cannon, and do the like execution." He then adds in a note, "this name by interpretation, is the *son of a cannon:* several persons in that country having their cognomina from some quality or other, for which they are remarkable. Of this quality they are either called *Abbon, i.e. father,* or *Ibn Ben, i.e. son of it.* Thus a fat man is called *Abbon Kersh, i.e.* the *father of a belly.*" &c.*

It seems from hence to be a very indifferent thing, whether a person should be denominated the *son,* or the *father* of a thing, since if it was not so, one would have imagined he should rather have been called the *father of a cannon,* than the *son of a cannon,* which yet it seems was his cognomen.

The knowledge of this Eastern custom is of great consequence, to illustrate one of the titles given to the Messiah by the Prophet Isaiah, ch. ix. 6, *the everlasting Father.* It may have given pain to some minds, very possibly, as if there was a sort of improper confusion of titles here, and that given to the Messiah, which was appropriate to the first of the sacred three, *the everlasting Father.*

But this pain gradually wears off, as we find the original words אבי עד *abee ad, the father of that which is everlasting,* or the *father of eternity;* and afterward find, that the Eastern people are wont to describe any quality of a person, by calling him the *father of that quality:* CHRIST as the head, and introducer of an everlasting dispensation, never to give place to another, was very naturally, in their style, called the *father of eternity,* or the *father of that which is everlasting;* which our translators render, perhaps a little unhappily, *the everlasting Father.* This is no new interpretation: the celebrated

* Page 244.

Vitringa, in his noble commentary on this Prophet, explains the words, Pater eternitatis, sive Conditur Sæculi eterni; that is, the *father of eternity*, or, *the former of an eternal age*.

What is new here, is the bringing into view, upon this occasion, the Eastern custom, mentioned by Dr. Shaw, but not applied by him to the elucidation of any passage of Holy Writ, and also the confirming and enlarging the doctor's account, by other examples, of an oriental custom not well known here in the West, at least not recollected as it ought to have been, the very industrious and curious Vitringa taking no notice of it in his remarks on this passage.

To the instance then mentioned by Shaw, I would add that of Maillet, who tells us, that Egypt is filled with kites, and that the Arabs call this bird the *father of the air*, to express the excellency of his flying;* that of d'Herbelot, who tells us, that the khalif Moaviah II. being of a very weak and infirm constitution, and unable often to appear in the day time, was called *Abou Leilah*, that is, *father of the night*;† and that other mentioned by the same writer,‡ who, speaking of a very eminent physician, says, he did such admirable cures, that he was sirnamed *Aboul Berekiat*, the *father of benedictions*.||

Not very far remote from these instances is the Arab name of an African city, mentioned by Dr. Shaw, p. 109: called, it seems, *Boo Hadgar*, or, the *father of a stone*, that is, the *stony city*. He also tells us of an Arabian bird, which is called *Ach Bobba*, which words in the Turkish language, he observes, signify *white father*: a

* Let. 9, p. 22. † Page 587. ‡ Page 440.

|| So Schultens, in a note on the sixth Arabian assembly, tells us, that the principal leader of the Karegites, for twenty years, was called Abu Naâma, which, I think, signifies *father of the Ostrich*, from the horse he used to ride on; called Naâma, because in swiftness it exceeded an ostrich, which in Arabic, is Naâmah.

name given it partly out of the reverence they have for it, partly from the colour of its plumage.

OBSERVATION LXXXI.

CURIOUS CRITICISMS ON ISAIAH xii. 14—16.

It appears that she whom the Prophet Isaiah married,* and who was to be the mother of that child, before whose attaining the knowledge of good and evil, the two kings of Syria and Israel were to be removed, was a virgin, and that there was something extraordinary in that circumstance.

It has been objected, what was there extraordinary in a virgin's marrying, and nine months after having a child?

Something, however, extraordinary is supposed here, but it may not be so easy to determine what.

Sir John Chardin, in his MS. note on Isai. lxii. 5, *for as a young man marrieth a virgin, so shall thy sons marry thee,* tells us, "that it is the custom in the East for *youths* that were never married, always to marry *virgins,* and *widowers,* however young, to marry *widows;* and that Christians hardly ever depart from this observation; so that widowers and widows intermarry as soon as they can, because they cannot expect to marry any others, it not being the custom there.

If this custom was as ancient as the days of Isaiah, his marrying a virgin must have appeared extraordinary: since, as this was done in the time of Ahaz, whose father Jotham reigned sixteen years, and Isaiah began to prophecy in the time of Uzziah his grandfather, the Prophet could not have been very young at the time of this prediction on the one hand: and on the other, every body

* Is. vii. 14—16, ch. viii. 3, 4.

knows that the Eastern people, and none more than the Jews, married very early in life. Isaiah must, according to this, be supposed to have been married before this time, and consequently his marrying a virgin might appear particular, and be designed to point out something deserving attention.

It was more particular still, if the person to be married was one that was understood to have determined to pass her days in a state of virginity. She appears to have been called a Prophetess, Is. viii. 3: this was previous to her becoming a prophet's wife, and should seem to point out a person who devoted herself to retirement and study, and consequently to a single life. Lady Montague tells us there is no remaining honorably a single woman among the Turks;* and I think she somewhere says it is esteemed a mark of reprobation; for bringing forth and educating children are the proper duties of a female.† It is supposed posterity was, at least, equally desired among the Jewish people; nevertheless, we find some of their females continued in a single state; and that circumstance, and their prophesying, are united together, Acts xxi. 9. If there was a like union between them and these more ancient times, Isaiah, when he married a Prophetess, married a virgin in a stronger sense than common.

In either case, the prophetic management was particular; if they were joined together, it was extremely remarkable.

* Letters vol. 3, p. 36, 37.

† The Parsees at Guzerat prevent as much as possible all celibacy, as they conceive virginity to be a *crime*. Their girls are marriageable at 3 years of age, are brought to their husband's house when about 6, but the marriage is not consummated till 13, unless she have had her catamenia.

When a girl is of age she may present herself to her father, brother, or guardian, and demand to be married: if her request is not attended to by her kindred, they are considered as guilty of the most *heinous crime*. But on the other hand, if she refuse to be married when desired by her relations, and persist in that resolution till she be 18 years of age, and die a virgin, whatever good works she may have done, she shall go to hell, and continue in it till the resurrection. See Zend Avesta, vol. 2, 557. EDIT.

All the present establishment given to the faith and hope of that generation, that the house of David should not be overwhelmed with destruction, when two such threatening enemies as the kings of Syria and Israel were leagued together against it; and it was a common policy to exterminate whole families to which royalty had belonged;* was the Prophet's pointing out a particular person, who should almost immediately conceive, should go happily through the stages of her pregnancy, should bear a son, which son should live till both those countries were forsaken of their kings, and this event to happen before he was capable of discerning between good and evil. All these were contingencies which might not happen; and, on the contrary, when the prediction appeared to be verifying from point to point, their hope must be greatly confirmed, that the house of David should continue, and that the promises relating to the Messiah, who was to reign for ever and ever, should be fulfilled, contrary to their anxious forebodings.

It does not appear that this child's mother being a virgin had any thing to do in the establishment of the faith and hope of that generation; it must have been so distinctly mentioned on some other account; What? is the question.

The Jews, I apprehend, must be perplexed to assign the reason: not so the disciples of Jesus. For though the virginity of the mother of that child had nothing to do with the men of that generation, yet, it being somehow connected with the appearance of him who was the hope of Israel, and the glory of the house of David, it is reasonable to believe it was as a representation of what was to be his case, that he was to be the firstborn of his mother, and that his mother was to be somehow or other a virgin, in a remarkable sense. The first thought seems to be absolutely necessary to be adopted: yet if this had been all, one would hardly imagine it should have been pointed

* See 1 Kings xv. 29, ch. xvi. 11, 2 Kings xi. 1.

out with quite so much solemnity, the second seems at least to be a great probability.

Answerable to all this, the New Testament represents the Messiah as the firstborn of his mother; and it describes her as a virgin in such a sense, as that his birth was ennobled by being miraculous.

Nothing is more natural than such an explanation of this prediction. The Prophet expressly declares, that he, and the children GOD gave him were לאתות *leoloth*, for *signs* and *wonders* in Israel, ch. viii. 18; and this Hebrew word is used by this very Prophet, as signifying that the circumstances attending him were similar to those that should happen, in after time, to them of whom he prophesied: such was his walking naked and barefoot, for a *sign*, and a *wonder* upon Egypt and Ethiopia, ch. xx. 3.

I have dwelt the longer on this subject, because it seems to me not to have been so happily explained as could be wished.

OBSERVATION LXXXII.

CAMELS CONSTITUTE A PART OF THE RICHES OF GREAT MEN IN THE EAST.

JOB might well be styled the greatest man in the land of Uz, or of all that part of the East,* when he was possessed of almost half as many camels as a modern king of Persia.

An anecdote, mentioned by Sir J. Chardin in his MS. affords a happy illustration of what is said of the riches of Job, who, we are told, was master of three thousand camels. "The king of Persia being in Mazanderan, in the year '76,† the Tartars set upon the camels of the king in the month of February, and took three thousand of

* Job i. 3.

† 1676 is the year meant.

them, which was a great loss to him, for he has but seven thousand in all, if their number should be complete; especially considering it was winter, when it was difficult to procure others in a country which was a stranger to commerce; and their importance, these beasts carrying all the baggage, for which reason they are called the ships of Persia. Upon these accounts the king presently retired."

Many a European reader is not well apprized of the value of three thousand camels; but there are few that are totally unacquainted with the riches and the pomp of Eastern princes, and the great figure the Sophi of Persia make among them; to such readers the preceding account will not be uninstructive.

OBSERVATION LXXXIII.

USEFULNESS OF CAMELS' HAIR IN THE EAST.

Camels are not only of great importance in the East, for carrying of goods through the deserts, and as furnishing no despicable part of food to some nations by their milk and their flesh, but their hair is useful for vestments.

This hair, Sir J. Chardin tells us,* is not shorn from the camels like wool from sheep, but they pull off this woolly hair, which the camels are disposed in a sort to cast off; as many other creatures, it is well known, change their coats yearly.

This hair is made into cloth now; Chardin assures us the modern dervishes wear such garments, as they do also great leather girdles, and sometimes feed on locusts. This will serve to illustrate the account of John the Baptist; see Matth. iii. 4.

* In his MS. note on 1 Sam. xxv. 4.

OBSERVATION LXXXIV.

MEDICINES USED EXTERNALLY IN THE EAST.

MEDICINES in the East are chiefly applied externally, and in particular to the stomach and belly. Might not Solomon allude to similar managements in his time, when he says concerning the fear of the LORD, *It shall be health to thy navel, and marrow to thy bones*? Prov. iii. 8.

Sir John Chardin, in his MS. assures us of the fact, and applies it to the illustration of this passage. "It is a comparison, he tells us, drawn from the plasters, ointments, oils, frictions, which are made use of in the East upon the belly and stomach in most maladies; they being ignorant in the villages of the art of making decoctions and potions, and the proper doses of such things, generally make use of external medicines."

Until I met with this observation, I did not see, I confess, any particular propriety in that clause of the royal preacher.

OBSERVATION LXXXV.

REPOSITORIES FOR BEDS IN THE EAST.

THE bed chamber in the temple, in which Jehosheba hid Joash in the days of Athaliah, mentioned 2 Kings vi. 2, and 2 Chron. xxii. 11, does not seem to mean a *lodging chamber*, but a *chamber* used as a *repository for beds*.

I am indebted to Sir John Chardin's MS. for this thought, which seems to be a just one; for the original words בחדר המטות *bachadar hammittoth*, signify a *chamber of beds*, and the expression differs from that which is used when a lodging chamber is meant. He supposes then

"that place is meant, where beds are kept: for in the East, and particularly in Persia and Turkey, beds are not raised from the ground with bedposts, a canopy, and curtains; people lie on the ground. In the evening they spread out a mattrass or two of cotton, very light, &c. Of these they have several laid up in great houses, until they may have occasion to use them, and have a room on purpose for them.

In a chamber of beds, the room used for the laying up beds, it seems Joash was secreted. Understand it how you will, it appears that people were lodged in the Temple; and if any lodged there, it is to be supposed at particular times there were many, especially the relations and friends of the high priest. Here it may be right to consult Neh. xiii. 4, 5. In the room in which the beds were deposited, not a common bedchamber, it seems the young prince lay concealed. Chardin complains the Vulgar Latin translation did not rightly understand the story; nor have others represented the intention of the sacred writer perfectly, if he is to be understood after this manner.

OBSERVATION LXXXVI.

SOME FACTITIOUS METALS OF GREAT VALUE IN THE EAST.

Precious as gold is, there have been compositions that have been as highly esteemed.

Ezra viii. 27, affords us a proof of this: *Twenty basins of gold, of a thousand drams; and two vessels of fine copper*, or of yellow or shining brass, according to the margin, *precious as gold.*

The Corinthian brass has been mentioned on this occasion, which is said to have been more esteemed than silver among the Romans. But as the metal mentioned by Ezra seems to have been more valuable still; so this

Corinthian brass was unknown in those times, being a composition formed, accidentally, by the burning of Corinth, not one hundred and fifty years before the birth of our LORD, and supposed to consist of a mixture of gold, silver, and brass.

Sir John Chardin, in his MS. note, has mentioned a mixed metal used in the East, and highly esteemed there; and as the origin of this composition is unknown, it might, for aught we know, be as old as the time of Ezra, and be brought from those more remote countries into Persia, where these two basins were given to be conveyed to Jerusalem.

"I have heard," says the note, "some Dutch gentlemen speak of a metal in the island of Sumatra, and among the Macassars, much more esteemed than gold, which royal personages alone might wear. It is a mixture, if I remember right, of gold and steel, or of copper and steel." He afterward added to this note, for the colour of the ink differs, "calmbac is this metal, composed of gold and copper. It in colour nearly resembles the pale carnation rose, has a very fine grain, the polish extremely lively. I have seen something of it, &c. Gold is not of so lively and brilliant a colour; I believe there is steel mixed with the gold and the copper."

He seems to be in doubt about the composition; but very positive as to its beauty, and its high estimation.

OBSERVATION LXXXVII.

OF THE TWO MULES' BURTHEN OF EARTH, WHICH NAAMAN REQUESTED FROM THE PROPHET ELIJAH.

WHEN Naaman the Syrian requested two mules' burthen of earth, of the Holy Land, to be given him by the Prophet, it has been generally understood to have been for the raising up an altar to the GOD of Israel; it is not

however impossible to have been for some other purpose, since modern Eastern devotion, for a particular place, has led them to desire some of its earth for another use.

The MS. of Sir J. Chardin treats the common notion as erroneous, perhaps a little too positively; but it cannot be disagreeable to communicate his note upon 2 Kings v. 17, to the world, as it is curious and amusing, though numbers may be inclined still to retain the common opinion. Naaman desired this, he thinks, "as sacred earth, taken from sacred places to pray upon, as the Mohammedans do, having their beads made of earth, esteemed sacred by them, and who, in praying, bow themselves down upon a small quantity of the same earth."*

It would not have been disagreeable if he had informed us how this earth is prepared, so as to make a lasting surface, on which to place thmselves in prayer, or on which they may place their foreheads, in prostrating themselves before God, as they are known to do: though perhaps after all, as Sir John says nothing about Naaman's making *beads* of this earth, which machines of devotion are now very much used in the East, it may be thought as little certain that he desired the earth to pray upon.

OBSERVATION LXXXVIII.

OF THE MANNER IN WHICH THE EASTERNS EXPRESS RESENTMENT AGAINST ANY PERSON.

It is a very odd custom in the East, that when they are angry with a person, they abuse and vilify his *parents*; yet some traces of it seem to appear in Scripture.

Sir John Chardin assures it is an Eastern custom, in his MS. note on 1 Sam. xx. 30, and that it obtains through all the East: if it be, his introducing the mention of it here is extremely proper, as it may save us from some

* *Un petit palet de meme terre*, are his words.

false refinements that appear in our Western commentaries. Saul thought of nothing but venting his anger against Jonathan; nor had any design to reproach his wife personally; the mention of her was only a vehicle by which, according to Oriental modes, he was to convey his resentment against Jonathan into the minds of those about him. *Then Saul's anger was kindled against Jonathan, and he said unto him, Thou son of the perverse rebellious woman, do not I know*, &c.

OBSERVATION LXXXIX.

THEIR METHOD OF DISHONORING PLACES, WHICH HAD BEEN USED FOR RELIGIOUS PURPOSES, &c.

THE dishonoring places which were treated with veneration by others, by making use of them for the most disgraceful discharges of animal nature, was an ancient Oriental way of expressing dislike, and it still continues to be used there.

Jehu thus treated the temple of Baal: "he made it a draught house," 2 Kings x. 27. Every one will suppose what a draught house means, especially if he recollects those words in St. Matthew, *Do not ye yet understand, that whatsoever entereth into the mouth, goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the draught?* ch. xv. 17.

Sir John Chardin observes somewhere in his MS. that the Eastern people are more exquisite in taking vengeance than those in the West. This seems to be a proof of it: we strike off the heads of those images that have been superstitiously abused, set up in or about places of worship; we have pulled down or defaced buildings that we detest; the stone coffin of a prince whose memory was execrated, has been made use of for a watering trough for horses; but I do not remember that any sacred place was designedly among us, made what our version calls a

draught house. It has been retained, however in the East; and this MS. of his informs us, that Abbas the Great, king of Persia* having conquered Bagdad, treated the tomb of Hanifah, one of the fathers of the church among the Turks, after a similar manner.

They that consider the great neatness of the Eastern tombs; and the prayers that are poured out so frequently at the graves of their holy men, so that a tomb and an oratory are frequently much the same thing; will think there is a greater likeness between the two stories than may appear at first sight.

OBSERVATION XC.

STRANGE CUSTOM OBSERVED IN MOURNING FOR THE DEAD.

THREE is a note in the MS. I have so often cited, on a passage of the Apocrypha, which affords an exquisite comment on the surprise of David's servants, at his behaviour when his first child by Bathsheba died.†

The account Sir John gives us of Eastern mourning, in order to illustrate Ecclesiasticus xxxviii. 17, is as follows. "The practice of the East is to leave a relation of the deceased person to weep and mourn, till on the third or fourth day at furthest, the relations and friends go to see him, cause him to eat, lead him to a bath, and cause him to put on new vestments, he having before thrown himself on the ground," &c.

The surprise of David's servants then, who had seen his bitter anguish while the child was sick, arose apparently from this, that, when he found it was dead, he that

* Both Persians and Turks are Mohammedans, but of different sects; and there are as mortal feuds on that account betwixt them, as there were anciently between the Jews and Samaritans.

† 2 Sam. xii. 16—21.

so deeply lamented, arose of himself from the earth, without staying for his friends coming about him, and that presently; immediately bathed and anointed himself instead of appearing as a mourner; and, after worshipping God with solemnity, returned to his wonted repasts without any interposition of others; which as now, so perhaps anciently, was made use of in the East. The extremity of his sorrows for the child's illness, and his not observing the common forms of grief afterward, was what surprised his servants.

Every eye must see the general ground of astonishment; but this passage of Chardin gives great distinctness to our apprehensions of it.

OBSERVATION XCI.

REMARKS UPON SOME PARTS OF ACTS XXVII. RELATIVE TO ST. PAUL'S VOYAGE.

Bishop Pococke, in his travels, has explained very particularly the *rudder bands* mentioned by St. Luke, Acts xxvii. 40, and my plan excludes that account from these papers; but Sir John Chardin has mentioned some other things relating to this ship of St. Paul, which ought not to be omitted, since his MS. is not likely ever to be published.

First, the Eastern people, he tells us, "are wont to leave their skiffs in the sea, fastened to the stern of their vessels." The skiff of this Egyptian ship was towed along, it seems, after the same manner, v. 16, *We had much work to come by the boat.*

Secondly, They never, according to him, hoist it into the vessel, it always remains in the water, fastened to the ship. He therefore must suppose the *taking it up* ηραντες, mentioned ver. 17, does not mean hoisting it up into the vessel, as several interpreters have imagined, but

drawing it up close to the stern of the ship; and the word χαλασαντων, which we translate in the thirtieth verse, *letting down into the sea*, must mean letting it go further from the ship into the sea.

Thirdly, He supposes this ship was like "a large modern Egyptian Saique, of three hundred and twenty tons, and capable of carrying from twentyfour to thirty guns."

Fourthly, These Saiques, he tells us, "always carry their anchors at their stern, and never their prow," contrarily to our managements; the anchors of St. Paul's ship were, in like manner, *cast out of the stern*, ver. 29.

Fifthly, They carry their anchors at some distance from the ship, "by means of the skiff, in such a manner as always to have one anchor on one side, and the other on the other side, so that the vessel may be between them, lest the cables should be entangled with each other." To St. Paul's ship there were four anchors, two on each side.

All these several particulars are contained, though not distinctly proposed, in his remarks on the vessel in which St. Paul was shipwrecked: the curious will probably consider them. If the mode of navigating Eastern ships had been attended to, it is possible the jocular and lively remarks of some indevout sailors, bordering on profaneness, would never have been made upon this part of the narration of St. Luke; and some clauses would have been differently translated from what we find them in our version.

OBSERVATION XCII.

OF THE EFFECTS OF CIRCUMCISION.

THE accounts that have been given by some that have lived in the East, concerning the effects of circumcision, do not well agree with the explanations divers of the learned have proposed, of some passages of the Old Testament history.

The children of Israel, after forty years, wandering in the wilderness, passed over Jordan, into the land promised their ancestors, on the tenth day of the first month, and encamped in Gilgal, as we are told, Josh. iv. 19. They were circumcised in Gilgal, ch. v. 9; and in that same encampment, it should seem, they kept the Passover, ver. 10. The supposition of Bishop Patrick, in his commentary on Joshua, is, that they crossed the Jordan on the tenth of the first month, were circumcised the eleventh, were at the worst the thirteenth, and capable of observing the Passover, in all its ceremonies, on the fourteenth.

The accounts of Eastern travellers show, that there is too much precipitation here. "I have heard," says Sir J. Chardin, in his sixth MS. volume,* "from divers renegadoes in the East, who had been circumcised, some at thirty, some at forty years of age, that the circumcision had occasioned them a great deal of pain, and that they were obliged to keep their bed upon it at least twenty or twentytwo days;† that they put nothing on the wound to make it cicatrize but burnt paper. They refer the little pain that it is remarked this operation gives infants, to the softness of the prepuce; whereas, in grown up people this skin is very tough, and very sensible, because of the arteries and veins there."

Without making any anatomical remarks here, the fact, I presume, is sufficiently authenticated, that it is about three weeks after people of thirty or forty years have been circumcised, before they can with tolerable ease, walk about; and consequently, that the Passover cannot be imagined to have been solemnized on the fourth day after this circumcision. Bishop Patrick himself, in his comment on Josh. v. 8, supposes, that the pain was smartest on the third day: for which he cites Gen. xxxiv. 25; and yet that the people were whole against the fourth day,

* On Gen. xxxiv. 25.

† And that, during that time, they could not walk without feeling very severe pain.

which was the Passover. This is not a little extraordinary: that the Bishop should suppose that the pain of an operation, which was such as rendered them incapable to fight for their lives on the third day after, should, on the fourth, be so perfectly over, as to enable them, without any considerable inconvenience, to celebrate the Passover; for if the inconvenience had been considerable, it might, by an express constitution of their lawgiver, have been deferred till the fourteenth day of the second month, Numb. ix. 10, 11. This appears, on the face of it, to be very strange; but it is absolutely incompatible with Sir J. Chardin's account, received from several renegadoes.

The Bishop certainly was misled here, by the speedy healing of this kind of wound in infants, which I have been assured by some of the Jewish nation, is, in a very little time; perhaps two or three days was the precise expression. It is otherwise with the adult; nor does Gen. xxxiv. 25, show that the pain was most intense on the third day, but only sufficiently severe, by that time.

But how then are the circumstances of this history to be ranged? I should suppose it must be in one of these two ways, either, that the circumcision was not performed till after the Passover was celebrated, which indeed was not agreeable to the law, Exod. xii. 48; or else, that the Passover was not solemnized till the fourteenth day of the second month, which their law allowed, in that passage of Numb. ix, I just now cited.

Things might, very possibly, be conducted after the first manner: for the omission of circumcision while they were in the wilderness, shows that they were not very exact, at that time, in their observation of the ceremonies of their law. Nothing also forbids our understanding the fourteenth day, of that day of the second month. But I leave to the curious the determination of the point.

OBSERVATION XCIII.

OF THE ORNAMENTS PUT ON REBECCA BY ABRAHAM'S SERVANT.

The weight of the ornaments that the servant of Abraham put upon Rebecca appears to us rather extraordinary, Sir J. Chardin assures us as heavy, and even heavier, were worn by the women of the East when he was there.

The ear ring, or jewel for the face, weighed half a shekel, and the bracelets for her hands ten shekels, Gen. xxiv. 22, which, as he justly observes in the margin of the MS. is about five ounces. Upon which he tells us, "the women wear rings and bracelets of as great weight as this, through all Asia, and even much heavier. They are rather manacles than bracelets. There are some as large as the finger. The women wear several of them, one above the other, in such a manner as sometimes to have the arm covered with them from the wrist to the elbow. Poor people wear as many of glass or horn. They hardly ever take them off: they are their riches."

OBSERVATION XCIV.

MANY SIRNAMES IN USE AMONG THE ORIENTALS.

The Eastern people are oftentimes known by several names: this might arise from their having more names than one given them at first; or it might arise from their assuming a new and different name upon particular occurrences in life. This last is most probable, since such a custom continues in the East to this day; and it evidently was sometimes done anciently, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 4, 2 Kings xxxiv. 17.

The sixth volume of the MS. C. seems to complain of expositors, for supposing one person had frequently different names; and says, that the custom of the East still continues for persons to have a new name upon change of circumstances. There seems to me to be some want of precision here: commentators have supposed and the fact is apparent, that one and the same person has had different names; but they have determined, in common at least, nothing about the manner how they came by them. Sir John thinks, very justly, that they were wont to be given upon some change of life; but then there might be a variation as to the consequences. Some might invariably be called by the new name after its being put upon them: thus I think, Abraham was always so called in the latter part of his life, and never Abram; and his wife in like manner Sarah, and not Sarai; others might be called sometimes by the one, and sometimes by the other, and sometimes by both joined together. So St. John tells us, in his gospel, that JESUS gave the new name of Peter to the brother of Andrew, ch. i. 42: yet he represents JESUS as afterward calling him Simon, ch. xxi. 15, 16, 17; and John himself called him sometimes Peter, and sometimes Simon Peter, and that, just together, ch. xviii. 10, 11.

But as the account that is given us of this variety of names in the MS. is curious, I would set down the substance of it. "Expositors suppose the Israelites, and other Eastern people, had several names, but this is an error; the reason of their being called by different names is because they frequently change them, as they change in point of age, condition, or religion. This custom has continued to our times in the East, and is generally practised upon changing religions;* and it is pretty common upon changing condition. The Persians have preserved this custom more than any other nation. I have seen

* Acts xiii. 9.

many governors of provinces among them assume new names with their new dignity. But the example of the reigning* king of Persia is more remarkable; the first years of the reign of this prince having been unhappy, on account of wars and famine in many provinces, his counsellors persuaded him that the name he had until then borne was fatal, and that the fortune of the empire would not be changed until he changed that name. This was done: the prince was crowned again, under the name of Soliman: all the seals, all the coins, that had the name of Sefi were broken, the same as if the king had been dead, and another had taken possession. The women more frequently change their names than the men, whether owing to a natural inconstancy, or that they do not agree to the alterations they find in life, being put upon them on account of their beauty, gaiety, their agility in dancing, or fine voice: and as these natural qualities are quickly lost, either by accident, or by age, they assume other names, which better agree to their changed state. Women that marry again, or let themselves out anew, and slaves, commonly alter their names upon these changes."

OBSERVATION XCV.

WOMEN IN THE EAST SUFFER LITTLE IN PARTURITION.

The mercy of God toward Israel in Egypt, and his care of their preservation there, were certainly very extraordinary; but most probably there was nothing uncommon in what happened to the Israelitish women, when Pharaoh directed the midwives to destroy their male infants in the birth.

Easy and quick deliveries were common before that time among them, or there would have been more than two midwives made use of by the Israelitish women: on

* He began his reign, I think, in 1667, and died in 1694.

the other hand, these speedy deliveries were then not universal: if they had, there would have been no great virtue in Shiprah and Puah's telling Pharaoh the undisguised state of things among them: they certainly told Pharaoh what was true as to many of them, but they concealed some part of the truth from that cruel prince.

Rachael, and the daughter in law of Eli the high priest, are proofs that travail in the East is sometimes extremely bitter, and is sometimes fatal,* in the common course of things; but a facility in introducing children into the world is more common, perhaps, among them, than among us. Bishop Patrick, in his Commentaries, mentions Varro's account of the women of Illyricum, and Gataker's relation of what has sometimes been known in Ireland. This might have been enlarged by citations from writers that have described the manners, &c. of the Indians of North America; but it must be infinitely more amusing, to be told what happens now in the East itself. This is done by Sir J. Chardin, in his sixth MS. volume, in such a manner as would make an omission of it very inexcusable.

After having observed that what is said of the Hebrew women, in Exod. i. 19, ought not to give any mind pain, he adds, "since in Europe, where the people are robust, as in Switzerland and the North, it frequently happens that women bring their fruit into the world without much pain, and without assistance; I will only say there are many large countries in Asia where there are no professed midwives at all, and that where there are, they are not very much known, the mothers delivering their daughters, and, for want of them, the relations or neighbours perform the office. I have known a woman in Caramania, brought to bed without help in the open fields,† and was quite surprised to see her arrive, not long after me, at the

* Gen. xxxv. 16, 1 Sam. iv. 19, 20.

† Three leagues, he says in the margin, from the village whither he was going.

place where we lodged. The people of the village laughed at my surprise, and told me this happened frequently in their country. It is said, that in Arabia, it often happens among the clans of shepherds that pass from one side of the Tigris to the other, and who cross over on vessels of leather blown up,* that their women fall into labour just as they should cross over, which, however, does not hinder their passage: the woman is in a moment delivered of the child, washes it in the river, wraps it up in some rags, places it on her leather vessel, and passes over with more ease than she could have done had she continued big with child.

The apology of these midwives then was sufficiently plausible, and in many instances, without doubt, very just. Great was the difference between the Israelites, used to hardships, and the delicate Egyptians, with respect to the employing people of their profession.

OBSERVATION XCVI.

OF THE POSTURE OF DEVOTION PRACTISED BY SOME IN THE EAST.

Sir J. Chardin confirms Dr. Shaw's account of the devout posture of some people of the Levant, which resembles that made use of by Elijah, just before the descent of the rain, 1 Kings xviii. 42.

Dr. Shaw's account may be found by turning to his two hundred and thirtythird page; that of the MS. C. is as follows: "The dervishes, especially those of the Indies, put themselves into this posture," he is speaking of the attitude of Elijah on the top of Mount Carmel, in order to meditate, and also to repose themselves. "They tie their knees against their belly with their girdle, and lay their heads on the top; and this, according to them, is the best posture for recollecting themselves."

* Consul Drummond describes these in his Travels, p. 207, 208, and calls them Lowders.

As so celebrated an interpreter as Bishop Patrick has given a very different description of the attitude of Elijah, in his Commentary on the book of Kings, I thought this confirmation of Dr. Shaw's account would not be improper.

OBSERVATION XCVII.

OF THE MANNER IN WHICH THE DERVISHES AND FAKEERS ARE CLOTHED.

As the common customs of the East have been handed down to these late ages very little altered, Sir J. Chardin is of opinion, that the same holds true as to other usages, and particularly with respect to the exterior appearance of persons of extraordinary reputed sanctity.

The observation he has made,* relating to the resemblance between the modern Eastern dervishes and fakeers† and the ancient Jewish Prophets, both those that were true and those that falsely assumed that character, are considerably striking.

These modern Eastern Religious, he tells us, go clothed just as Elijah did, who is called a hairy man, 2 Kings i. 8, on account of his wearing a hairy garment, and was girded with a leather girdle. In other places Prophets are described as wearing a rough garment, or garment of hair.‡ Sir John repeats the same in making remarks on the vestment of John the Baptist.

The dervishes, he gives us to understand, carry about with them the horn of a he goat, or of a wild ox. They wear it as a kind of defence, though some others carry hatchets with them ;‖ and he supposes Zedekiah, the son

* In a MS. note on 2 Kings i. 8.

† The dervishes are a sort of friars, who wander about the parts of Asia nearest to us, and are supposed to lead a life of more than ordinary sanctity and austerity Much the same kind of people, that live in the more distant parts of Asia, are called fakeers. ‡ Zech xiii. 4.

‖ They make use of them also for another purpose ; that of proclaiming the generosity of those that give them alms.

of Chenaanah,* who had made him horns of iron, had them made as part of his equipage. It is not so understood, think, in general; but it is rather supposed that they were made by this false Prophet, on purpose to exhibit a fallacious sign to Ahab, of his pushing Syria until it was destroyed. Its being, however, at present a part of the equipage of a dervish, may incline one to believe it was an instrument Zedekiah had worn before, and only applied it to this use at that time.

The dervishes, he tells us go bare headed, and he thinks, from what is said of Elisha, 2 Kings ii. 23, the Prophets must have practised the same. On which I would further observe, that if the Prophets distinguished themselves from other people in those times, as the dervishes do now, these young people were not only guilty of not honoring old age, as the law required, Lev. xix. 22, but of knowingly and intentionally insulting a Prophet of GOD.

These are correspondencies that engage attention.

OBSERVATION XCVIII.

EXTREME DETESTATION EXPRESSED IN THE EAST, BY SPITTING ON THE GROUND.

THE association between *spitting* and *shame* is such now in the East, that we in common have no conception of; though some acquaintance with their views of things seems to be highly requisite, to understand some passages of sacred antiquity.

Monsieur d'Arvieux tells us, "the Arabs are sometimes disposed to think, that when a person spits, it is done out of contempt; and that they never do it before their superiors."† But Sir J. Chardin's MS. goes much further: he tells us, in a note on Num. xii. 14, that spitting before any one, or spitting upon the ground in speak-

* 2 Chron. xviii. 10. † Voy. dans la Pal. p. 140.

ing of any one's actions, is, through the East, an expression of extreme detestation.

Here are two things to be remarked: one, that though spitting is in common a thing totally indifferent among us, with respect to expressing dislike, it is otherwise in those countries, where they seldom or never spit as a natural discharge; but when they do spit, it marks out detestation, and extreme detestation; the other, that, in expressing their detestation of a person, they do not spit upon him, but upon the ground before him.

This gives a much stronger idea to this action, than multitudes have apprehended. Every one that has read the Old Testament with care must be sensible, it was a reproachful thing: but perhaps we have wondered that it should be prescribed by law as a disgrace, which yet we know it was among the Jews, Deut. xxv. 9; and we have been astonished that a father's dishonoring a daughter by spitting, should be thought to be so disgraceful, as to engage her to retire from public view no fewer than seven days, Numb. xii. 14: this accounts for both, it expresses extreme detestation.

A second thing is, that spitting upon the ground before a person's face is sufficient to disgrace very bitterly now, and therefore most probably was all that the Mosaic law required, in the twenty-fifth of Deuteronomy. The prefix ב *beth* is very seldom applied to the Hebrew word פני *penee* which signifies *face*; but when it is, it appears to signify *before a person's face*, as well as *upon the face*:* and since it may be understood in this sense; and since it is thought in the East to be enough to express bitter detestation; it appears to be right to understand that law after this manner.

Whether the vehemence of the Jews might not carry them further, with respect to our LORD, is another consideration.

* Ezek. xlii 12, Josh. xxi. 44, ch. xxiii. 9, and Esther ix. 2, sufficiently prove the point.

Niebuhr, I have lately found, gives just the same account, p. 26; the association then between *spitting* and *shame* may be considered as a most sure fact.

OBSERVATION XCIX.

CONGRATULATIONS USUAL ON THE BIRTH OF A MALE CHILD.

It is the custom in Persia, to announce to the father the birth of his male children with particular ceremonies, of which some account ought to be given.

This is a note Sir J. Chardin has on Jer. xx. 15; but unluckily no account of these ceremonies is to be found, that I know of, in those papers. Something of this kind, however, obtained among the Jews: the congratulation would otherwise have been supposed to have been conveyed to the father of Jeremiah, by some female assistant at the birth; whereas it is supposed to have been conveyed, on the contrary, by one of the other sex; *Cursed be the man who brought tidings to my father, saying, A man child is born unto thee.*

OBSERVATION C.

MANNER OF RECKONING SHEKELS.

Ezekiel's* manner of reckoning the number of shekels in a maneh, which it seems were threescore, appears very strange to us; but, according to the MS. C. was perfectly in the oriental taste.

The words of Ezekiel are, *The shekel shall be twenty gerahs; twenty shekels, twentyfive shekels, fifteen shekels*

* Ch. xlv. 12.

shall be your maneh. Some of the learned have supposed, there were three different coins of the three several values which the Prophet mentions, and one of each put together should make a maneh. But if there actually were such coins, it does not appear why the Prophet should describe a maneh after this manner; it seems to us that it would have been infinitely more simple to have have said, "The shekel shall be twenty gerahs, and your maneh threescore shekels."

But this MS. informs us, that it is the custom of the East, in their accompts and their reckonings of a sum of money, to specify the different parts of which it is composed: talking after this manner, I owe twentyfive, of which the half is twelve and one half, the quarter six and one fourth, &c. This appears extremely odd to us; but if it was the custom of those countries, it is no wonder Ezekiel reckoned after this manner.

OBSERVATION CI.

STRANGE CUSTOM OBSERVED IN CONTRACTING FOR WIVES IN THE EAST.

Sir J. Chardin observed in the East, that in their contracts for their temporary wives, which are known to be frequent there, which contracts are made before the kady, there is always the formality of a measure of corn mentioned, over and above the sum of money that is stipulated.

I do not know of any thing that should occasion this formality of late days in the East; it may then possibly be very ancient, as it is apparent this sort of wife is: if it be, it will perhaps account for Hosea's purchasing a woman of this sort for fifteen pieces of silver, and a certain quantity of barley, ch. iii. 2.

OBSERVATION CII.

OF THE ORIENTAL BOWCASES.

THE Oriental bows, according to this writer,* are wont to be carried, in a case, hung to their girdles; which case is sometimes of cloth, but more commonly of leather.

For want of being sufficiently aware of this, some commentators have expressed themselves in a very obscure manner, when they have been led to speak of a passage of the Prophet Habakkuk, which plainly supposes this management: *Thy bow was made quite naked*, ch. iii. 9.

OBSERVATION CIII.

PARTICULAR TIMES OBSERVED FOR GOING JOURNIES.

PETER DELLA VALLE assures us, it is now customary in these countries to begin their journies at the new moon;† may not this, like many other usages, be a remain of antiquity?

Our marginal translation of Prov. vii. 20, agrees with this supposition: "The good man is not at home, he is gone a long journey; he hath taken a bag of money in his hand, and will come home at the new moon." The word doubtless signifies, in general *an appointed time*; but it might mean, in particular, that of the new moon. So Aquila translates the passage, who is noted for his strict adhering to the precise meaning of the words of the Hebrew original.

So when the Shunamite proposed going to Elisha, her husband dissuaded her, by observing, it was neither new

* MS. note on Habak. iii. 9.

† Travels into East India and Arabia Deserta, p. 258.

moon nor sabbath, 2 Kings iv. 23: neither an usual time for taking secular journies, the words may mean, nor sacred. It is certain, the word sabbath signifies any Jewish sacred time, on the one hand ; and on the other, that the new moons no where, in the Scriptures, appear to have been times peculiarly made use of for religious instruction, or private devotion.

The original word חדש *chodesh* in common signifies a *throne*, it being only used twice* to signify the time of the new moon, or some appointed time ; but the lexicographers, that I have consulted, do not show how a throne and the new moon are connected together. May I be permitted to propose it to the learned, to consider whether 1 Sam. xx. 24, 25, does not explain it ? It appears there that new moons were observed as festivals in the Jewish court; that the king, in eating, then sat on a seat, a throne I presume, a seat high, and lifted up, on which his sons and great men were wont to sit in solemnity with him. Now if the king did not sit in common on such a seat, such a management would make the considering the new moon and a throne as correlative things, very natural.

OBSERVATION CIV.

PEOPLE IN THE EAST FREQUENTLY CUT THEIR ARMS FOR PURPOSES OF LOVE AND DEVOTION.

If the cutting the flesh anciently, as expressive of grief, was conducted after the same manner as now, they were the arms that suffered chiefly, if not wholly; and the cruelties of the people that were beloved, as well as those of enemies, occasioned these gashes.

"We find Arabs," la Roque tells us from d'Arvieux, "who have their arms scarred by the gashes of a knife,

* Here, and Ps. lxxxi. 3.

which they sometimes give themselves, to mark out to their mistresses what their rigour, and the violence of love, make them suffer. We content ourselves with singing, I die, I languish, &c. those good folks are more pathetic than we," &c.

We often read of people cutting themselves, in holy writ, when in great anguish; but we are not commonly told what part they wounded. The modern Arabs, it seems, gash their arms, which with them are often bare: it appears from a passage of Jeremiah, the ancients wounded themselves in the same part. *Every head shall be bald, and every beard clipt; upon* all hands *shall be cuttings, and upon the loins sackcloth*, chap. xlviii. 37.

The cuttings of the Old Testament, generally at least, refer to more respected and pitied calamities. Besides the passage just now cited, the reader may turn to Jeremiah xvi. 6, chap. xli. 5, and chap. xlvii. 5. The lunatic of the New Testament,* perhaps, who cut himself, might possibly do it from the same principle with the modern Arabs; if not the customariness of cutting themselves, in times of anguish, might occasion a management not so common among the lunatics of our times.

The attempt of the priests of Baal† to move the commiseration of that Sidonian idol, by the same method the modern Arabs make use of to move the compassion of their hard hearted mistresses, is truly laughable. And if the intention of Moses, in forbidding the Israelites to make such cuttings in their flesh, Deut. xiv. 1, was to prevent such unworthy notions of the deity he taught them to serve, the word *dead* in that text must be understood to signify *dead idols;* nor will the Jewish custom, referred to Jer. xvi. 6, appear to be a contravening that law.

* Mark v. 5. † 1 Kings xviii. 28.

OBSERVATION CV.

OF THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE EASTERN SOLDIERS IN TIME OF PEACE.

The Eastern soldiers, in times of peace, are disposed of about the walls of places, and particularly in the towers and at the gates; it seems to have been so anciently.

Niebuhr tells us,* that the foot soldiers of the Iman of Yemen have very little to do in times of peace, any more than the cavalry: some of them mount guard at the dola's;† they are also employed at the gates, and upon the towers.

The towers, in some of the Eastern cities, were made use of, for the lodging of their soldiers, they were their barracks: so Egmont or Heyman tell us, that there are sixty or seventy towers in the outward wall of Alexandria; that they had in general three stories, and each several apartments, which, in his opinion, would hold some hundreds of soldiers for the defence of each, vol. 2, p. 121.

A very ingenious commentator‡ then seems to be a little mistaken, when, explaining Ezek. xxvii. 11, *The men of Arvad with thine army were upon thy walls round about, and the Gammadim were in thy towers; they hanged their shields upon the walls round about; they have made thy beauty perfect:* he says, *they defended thy walls when they were assaulted by the king of Babylon's army.* Ezekiel is describing a time of peace and freedom of commerce, not of war; and Niebuhr gives us to understand, the walls are the places where the present Arab foot soldiers appear in time of peace.

* Page 186, 187.

† The title of the governors of the districts of Yemen, or the Happy Arabia.

‡ Mr. Lowth.

Their hanging their arms on the walls round about, shows it was such a time.*

This last circumstance may be illustrated too, by the account that Sandys gives of the decorations of one of the gates of the imperial seraglio in Constantinople, which, he tells us, is "hung with shields and scimetars," p. 25. Through this gate people pass to the divan, where justice is administered; and these are the ornaments of this public passage. The inner walks of the gates and towers of Tyre were ornamented, probably after the same manner.

Who the Gammadim of this verse were, I shall leave to the future examination of the learned: I would only take the liberty to observe, that the notion of one writer of eminence, that they were *pigmies*, and that of another, that they were the tutelar deities of Tyre, of the height of a cubit, seem to be not a little idle. Dwarfs have been in considerable vogue in former times, in the courts of princes, but as buffoons, not as guards; and though some modern antiquarians may have spoken of idolatrous images as the beauty of some ancient cities, I cannot believe that a Jewish prophet would be so complaisant.

OBSERVATION CVI.

OF THE BLUE COLOURED GARMENTS USED IN THE EAST.

THE being clothed in blue was, in the days of the Prophet Ezekiel, considered as a rich dress; at present, the most ordinary Eastern people are dressed in blue: this contrariety deserves some attention.

* Perhaps it even expresses festivity and triumph: so Father Vansleb describes an Eastern Zine, or public rejoicing, as celebrated by the hanging out lamps and tapestry; to which he adds, that the Beys cause to be suspended, at the entrance of their palaces, a quantity of beautiful arms, as headpieces, coats of mail, musquets, sabres, targets, &c. Relation d'Egypte, p. 335, 336.

That it is now the common dress of the ordinary Eastern women, appears from many writers. Niebuhr, one of the latest of them, tells us,* that "the whole of the dress of a woman of common rank," in Arabia he means, "consists of drawers, and a very large shift; the one and the other is of blue linen, wrought by a needle with some ornaments of a different colour." Thevenot describes the shirts worn by the Arabs, between Egypt and Mount Sinai, as blue: "these people, who are very numerous, live in the deserts, where, though they lead a most wretched life, yet they think themselves most happy. Their clothing is a long blue shirt," &c.†

The Prophet Ezekiel, on the other hand, supposes blue to be a rich and beautiful dress; *She doated on her lovers, on the Assyrians her neighbours, which were clothed with blue, captains and rulers, all of them desirable young men*, Ezek. xxiii. 6; and he mentions blue clothes, among other rich merchandise, chap. xxvii. 24. I do not mention the seventh verse of that chapter, because I am in doubt whether the blue and the purple there, refer to the clothing of the Tyrians; they may, perhaps, relate to their shipping: either the colours with which they were painted; or the awnings they placed over them, agreeable to the account that is given us of the covering of Solomon's chariot, Cant. iii. 10.

The contrast in this article is very sensible; blue linen, now worn by the most ordinary people; anciently the most rich clothing. I can account for it no otherwise than by supposing, that the art of dying blues was first found out in countries more to the east or south than Tyre; and that the dye was by no means become common, so low down as the time of Ezekiel: though, some that were employed in the construction of the tabernacle, seem to have possessed the art of dyeing with blue, Exod. xxxv. 35; and some of the Tyrians, in the time of Solomon, 2 Chron. ii. 7, 14. Remote countries were the places

* Page 57. † Page 173, part 1.

where these blue clothes were manufactured; and to them, who wore scarcely any thing but woollens and linens of the natural colour, these blue calicoes formed very magnificent vestments.

Niebuhr mentions* two places in Arabia, in which indigo is now cultivated and prepared: whether it grew there anciently, or in what other places, may not be easy at this time to determine.†

OBSERVATION CVII.

OF THE NATURE OF THE ANCIENT TYRIAN COMMERCE.

THE very ingenious editor of the Ruins of Palmyra supposes,‡ that it was the East Indian trade that so enriched that city, and he supposes that this was as ancient at least as the time of Solomon; if it was, Tyre, one would imagine, must have had those commodities conveyed to it in the time of Ezekiel: perhaps then that Prophet's account of the Tyrian commerce, given us in the twentyseventh chapter of his book of prophecies, may nearly let us into

* Page 197, 198: See also p. 133.

† The *blue* used in these ancient times was widely different from that used in the present day; the *former* was that extremely costly dye got from the *murex*, a species of shellfish particularly described by Pliny, Hist. Nat. lib. ix cap. 36; the *latter*, that cheap and imperfect colour produced by the application of *indigo*. But on this subject I beg leave so insert the following extract from Bruce's Travels, vol. i. Introd. p. lxiii. "Passing by Tyre from curiosity only, I came to be a mournful witness of the truth of that propheey, "that Tyre, the queen of nations, should be a rock for fishers to dry their nets on." Ezek. xxvi. 5. Two wretched fishermen, with miserable nets, having just given over their occupation, with very little success, I engaged them, at the expense of their nets, to drag in those places where they said shellfish might be caught, in hopes to have brought out one of the famous *purple* fish I did not succeed; but in this I was, I believe, as lucky as the old fishers had ever been. The purple fish at Tyre seems to have been only a concealment of their knowledge of *cochineal*, as, if the whole city of Tyre applied to nothing else but fishing, they would not have coloured twenty yards of cloth in a year." EDIT.

‡ Page 18, 19.

the extent of that traffic in his time whether carried on through Syria, ver. 16, that is, by way of Palmyra, or through Arabia.

Butz, translated in our version *fine linen*, and which I have elsewhere shown, probably means calicoes or muslins; *broidered work*, the original word for which may mean chintses, perhaps and other figured works,* as well as proper needle work ;† and three sorts of precious stones; are all the Prophet mentions as coming by way of Syria, or Palmyra. I say all, for I think the word *purple* belongs to that precious stone which our translators have rendered *emeralds*, and does not mean a distinct commodity; since all the other terms have the copulative particle prefixed to them, and the same should have been done to the word purple, had it meant a distinct thing: the intention of the Prophet seems then to have been to say, "Syria was thy merchant, they occupied in thy fairs בנפך ארגמן *benophek argaman*, with the *purple nophec* and broidered work," &c. Whether the word purple means the colour so denominated, or whether it means only bright or resplendent, it seems to be the descriptive epithet of the *nophec* brought to Tyre by the way of Syria.

Other East Indian goods may be included in the lists mentioned, ver. 22, 24, as brought to Tyre by other merchants: but is not of any great consequence, I apprehend, to determine the several countries from whence they were originally brought, whether the East Indies, Ethiopia, or Arabia; it is sufficient to take notice, that the 16th verse seems to give us an account of what were then the chief articles of the Palmyra trade.

* Possibly even porcelain and japan work.

† Of which there are two kinds: the one tracing out figures, by plain white stitches, common at this time in the East; the other delineating flowers and leaves with various colours, commonly understood by the term embroidery, of which frequent specimens are now imported among us from the East Indies, some of them extremely curious.

Whether the commodities Tyre obtained from Syria, means those that came by way of Palmyra, or not, we may be pretty certain some of them, at least, were not the natural product of Syria, but came from more distant places; since Dr. Russell tells us,* there are no *metals* found in all Syria, so far as he knew of; and then mentions a few *garnets*, but of an inferior quality, found near Antioch, but no other gems.†

OBSERVATION CVIII.

OF THE CARPETS USED IN THE EAST.

THE *precious clothes for chariots*, which was the merchandise Dedan brought to Tyre, Ezek. xxvii. 20, I should think mean carpets.

I have elsewhere shown, that litters and counes are the vehicles which the Scriptures seem to mean, when they speak of chariots, excepting those that were used in war; and one cannot easily imagine any manufacture more proper to sit or lie upon, in these chariots, than thick and soft carpets.

Whether the term בגדי חפש *bigdee chophesh*, that is here made use of, and which the marginal translation tells us signifies *clothes of freedom*, may prove that carpets began at this time to be sat upon by persons of distinction, while slaves cannot be supposed to have such conveniencies, deserves consideration.

Be these things as they may, carpets are now exported, according to Niebuhr, from that part of Arabia called Hadramaut, to that part called Yemen, and might very well be brought by their caravans to Tyre in the days of antiquity.

* Vol. i. p. 54.

† Whereas Ezekiel speaks of three different kinds of precious stones brought from Syria to Tyre.

OBSERVATION CIX.

PUBLIC ASSEMBLIES OF THE ARABS FOR PURPOSES OF ENTERTAINMENT.

Numbers of the southern Arabs assemble in their markets by way of amusement, and consequently, for conversation: the same custom appears anciently to have obtained, in places of the East, less remote from us than Yemen.

"Notwithstanding this external gravity," says Niebuhr,* "the Arabs love a great deal of company; accordingly, one sees them assiduously assembling in the public coffee houses, and, above all, running to fairs, in which no country, perhaps more abounds than Yemen; since there is scarcely a village of any consideration to be found, which has not a weekly fair. When the villages are at some distance from each other, their inhabitants assemble on the appointed day in the open fields. Some come hither to buy or to sell; others, who are mechanics of various professions, employ sometimes the whole week in going from one little borough to another, in order to work at these fairs; and finally, many propose to themselves to pass away the time there more agreeably than at home. From this state of the Arabs for society, and especially of those of Yemen, it is easy to infer that they are more civilized than it may be imagined."

Michaelis, the great promoter of Niebuhr's expedition into the East, has taken notice of this passage in his extract from this work,† saying, "The public places are, to this day, in Yemen, the places of diversion, and thus serve two uses; just as the gates of cities, which anciently were made their public places, as we are told in the Bible, Gen. xix. 1, Job xxix. 7, Ps. lxix. 14," &c.

* Page 25. † Page 13.

This remark is very short, and indeed obscure. It is universally known that the *gates* were anciently the places where they held their courts of judicature; but places of judicature, and markets or fairs, are very different things. The places this learned author has cited from the Bible have been understood, and, I think, commonly, to relate to magistrates sitting in the gates. That in Job certainly refers to his acting as a judge among his countrymen; the twelfth, sixteenth, and seventeenth verses indubitably prove it. Bishop Patrick gave a like sense to the other two.* These quotations then are unhappy; and the candid reader will, I hope, indulge me the liberty of citing some other passages of holy writ, and applying the circumstance occasionally mentioned by Niebuhr to the illustration of them.

1. St. Luke speaks of St. Paul's disputing in the market daily with the Athenian philosophers, Acts xvii. 17, 18. In our country the carrying on religious disputations in markets would be thought very improper, and the effect of intemperate zeal; but it would be proper enough in Arabia where people meet in such places for conversation. Probably the salutations in the markets, which the Evangelists tell us the Pharisees loved,† were the applications people in discourse were wont to make to them, in order to decide the matters they were controverting; so the multitude saluted our LORD in this manner, Mark ix. 15. They were extremely afraid of being defiled by being in markets; why then did they not abstain from such places, and transact the business of them by the intervention of others? May we not believe it was for the sake of shining in conversation there, and displaying their learning? Our LORD speaks also of children making use of markets for their puerile diversions, Matt. xi. 16. They were then, it seems, the common places for diversion and amusement,

* In his Commentaries. † Matt. xxiii. 7, Mark xii. 38, Luke xi. 43.

used by old and young: by the aged for conversation,* by the young for piping and dancing.

2. They held their markets in their gates, it appears, anciently, from what is said 2 Kings vii. 1, 18, where we read that a measure of fine flour was to be sold for a shekel, and two measures of barley for a shekel, in the gate of Samaria. It does not appear why the gate should be mentioned, if it was not considered as the public market, where the spoils of the Syrians were to be sold. In their gates then, or in a void space at the entrance of their gates, see 1 Kings xxii. 10, they held their markets and their courts of judicature both; as afterward, when their gates were not used for these purposes, the same place that served for the one was made use of for the other, Acts xvi. 19.

People then might sit in the gate anciently for conversation and diversion, as they do now, among the Arabs, in markets and fairs. It seems most natural to interpret Lot's sitting in the gate, Gen. xix. 1, after this manner. Certainly he did not sit there as a magistrate, for had that been his character, they would not have reproached him, though a stranger, with setting up to be a judge, ver. 9; nor can we imagine he sat there purposely to invite all strangers to his house, that would have been carrying his hospitality to an excess, it being enough for one in private life to receive such as came in his way: he seems then to have placed himself there for amusement and society.

* The supposed scene of the first assembly, or moral discourse, of this excellent Arabian writer *Hariri*, entitled *Senanensis*, seems to have been such an open and public place. It should not then have been represented, I apprehend, as it is by the learned Chappelow, in the preface to his translation, as "the subject of a *friendly society* at Sanaa, in Arabia Felix." It appears from the manner of his withdrawing, p. 7, that the orator was supposed to be unknown, and that it was understood to be an occasional discourse pronounced by a dervish, an Eastern religious beggar, who had gathered a great number of people about him, in some market, or some such open place, preaching to them there the precepts of religion. We meet with accounts in travellers of such public discourses of their religious-

Ps. lxix. 12, may be interpreted either way, *Men of* rank and influence *in life speak against me;* or, *the children of my people, in their leisure hours, when they assemble in the gate for* conversation, *speak against me, and I am the song of the drunkard.*

If we suppose the Jews were wont to have moral and wise discourses in their gates, as the Arabs are supposed by Hariri to have had in public places, and as the Athenian philosophers are supposed by St. Luke to have held in their markets, Acts xvii. 17, 18, there will appear a much greater energy in those words of Solomon, than is commonly apprehended, Prov. i. 20, 21, *Wisdom crieth without, she uttereth her voice in the streets: she crieth in the chief place of concourse, in the opening of the gates,* &c. and again, ch. viii. 3, *She crieth at the gates, at the entry of the city,* &c. The synagogues were, in later times, the places for Jewish instruction; but are we sure there were synagogues in the days of Solomon?

OBSERVATION CX.

PRINCES IN THE EAST OFTEN COMPARED TO LIONS, CROCODILES. &c.

Nothing is more common, in the East, than the comparing princes to *lions*, or better known to those that are acquainted with their writings; but the comparing them to *crocodiles*, if possessed of *naval* power, or strong by a *watery* situation, has hardly ever been mentioned.

D'Herbelot, however, cites* an Eastern poet who, celebrating the prowess of Gelaleddin, sirnamed Mankberni, and Khovarezme Shah, a most valiant Persian prince, said "He was dreadful as a lion in the field, and not less terrible in the water than a crocodile."

* Bibliotheque Orient. p. 371.

The power of the ancient kings of Egypt seems to be represented after the same manner, by the Prophet Ezek. ch. xxix. 3, *Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great* dragon, *the great* crocodile, *that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, my river is mine own, and I have made it myself.* In his xxxiid chapter, 2d verse, the same Prophet makes use, of both the similes, I think, of the panegyrist of Gelaleddin: *Take up a lamentation for Pharaoh king of Egypt, and say unto him, Thou art like a* young lion *of the nations, and thou art as a whale,* a crocodile, *in the seas: and thou camest forth with, or from thy rivers, and troubledst the waters with thy feet, and fouledst their rivers.*

It is very odd in our translators, to render the original word תנים *taneem, whale,* and at the same time talk of *feet;* nor indeed are rivers the abode of the whale, its bulk is too great to admit of that: the term dragon, which is thrown into the margin, is the preferable version: which word in our language, as the Hebrew word in the original, is, I think, *generic,* and includes the several species of oviparous quadrupeds, if not those of the serpentine kind.* A crocodile is, without doubt the creature the Prophet means; and the comparison seems to point out the power of the Egyptian kings of antiquity, they were mighty by sea as well as by land.

CONCLUSION,

IN WHICH SOME INFERENCES ARE DRAWN FROM THE FOREGOING OBSERVATIONS.

From the preceding sheets it appears, 1st. How essentially necessary it is, in explaining passages in the

* A collation of the several passages of the Old Testament, in which the word translated *dragons* occurs, confirms this description, but will not easily allow us to suppose the *jackall* could ever be meant. See Dr. Shaw, p. 174, note 2.

sacred writings, to pay particular attention to the manners and customs of Asiatic nations. These, we find, from the relations of the most authentic travellers, to be in many respects the same in the present times, which, from the accounts we have in the Scriptures, they were *two*, nay, even *three thousand* years ago!

2d. From these accounts we may also perceive the antiquity of the people therein described, and of the writings they hold sacred: these writings describe a people in their *civil*, *domestic*, and *ecclesiastical* relations, with such plainness and circumstantial accuracy, as sufficiently demonstrate them not only to be no forgeries of later times, but authentic and invaluable narratives, even considered independently of their divine inspiration.

3d. They show with what scrupulous exactness the sacred writers have introduced accounts of the geographical situation, animal and vegetable productions, and meteorological state of the different countries where the scene of their descriptions and prophecies is laid: which is a presumptive argument of very great force, that those writings were made in those very countries to which they are referred, and by the *natives* of those countries, and not by *strangers* who could not possibly have preserved such a perfect connexion between the places, persons, customs, habits, dress, vegetable and animal productions, state of the atmosphere, &c. of the countries they speak of, had they been natives of *other lands*, or lived in *other times*, than those mentioned in their writings. The most cunning, deep laid, cautious, designing imposture must necessarily have failed in some, if not all of these respects; but the sacred Scripture, like what St. Paul says of charity, *never faileth; ουδεποτε εκπιπτει it never falls off*, it mistakes not, but maintains its character throughout. This is a remarkable trait in the Old and New Testaments, which no other writings under the sun can boast.

4th. The reader will readily perceive, that most of the travellers, whose observations have contributed so much

to cast light on many obscure passages in the holy Scriptures, had themselves no design of the kind, nor did it probably ever enter into their mind, that their remarks could ever be applied to the purposes for which they are cited by Mr. Harmer. This proves that their testimony cannot be suspected of any partiality toward the cause of divine revelation; the agreement also of different travellers from different countries, who went over the same ground at different periods, and who could have no connexion with each other, serves sufficiently to prove the *truth* of the facts they relate. If then, so much benefit has been derived from remarks made in the most casual and fortuitous way, what might we not expect from the observations of intelligent travellers who should make it their study to collect incidents and facts purposely to illustrate the sacred writings? Every part of the East, under the eye of a sensible inquirer, would contribute to the elucidation of several remaining obscurities; and collections made after the manner of Dr. Shaw, with the superior advantages which the present cultivated state of Asiatic literature affords, would be highly conducive not only to the interests of *Biblical Criticism*, but to science in general. The Asiatic world is in some sort *sacred ground*, it was the theatre on which GOD performed his most stupendous works: the place where he first revealed himself to man. Vestiges of his power, and demonstrations of his truth, remain in many parts of that interesting quarter of the globe. The Asiatic Society has opened a new, easy, and pleasant path to the antiquities and literature of the most ancient people of that part of the universe. Let this institution pay its quota to divine revelation; and let the traveller who desires to cast his mite into the divine treasury, carefully examine his Bible, and the scenes passing under his notice: and, when it can be done, the Asiatic writers may be consulted to great advantage. *Inquire I pray thee of the* FORMER AGE, *and prepare thyself for the search of their* FATHERS; *shall*

not THEY *teach thee, and utter out of their* HEART? *For we are of* yesterday, *and know nothing*, Job viii. 8—10. These ancient people, the monuments of their primitive state, and their writings, all bear testimony to the truth of those divine records that describe their character, predict their revolutions, and define the bounds of their habitations.

Their line is gone out throughout all the earth, and their words to the end of the world, Ps. xix. 4.

A very intelligent and learned foreigner, Mr. John F. Usko, who has lately travelled over Greece, the Islands of the Mediterranean, Egypt, Syria, the Holy Land, Plains of Shinar, Deserts of Arabia, Persia, &c. concludes the short narrative of his travels in the following words, "I must here declare, to the *honor of the Bible*, that I did not find *one* circumstance in the holy Scriptures contrary to the present manners and customs of the East, or to geography, and the situation of the different places mentioned therein; but, on the contrary, all is conformable to the different prophecies and descriptions in the sacred writings." Brief Narrative, &c. p. 28, Lond. 1808.

This same gentleman, having met with the former edition of Mr. Harmer's work, after a careful and minute perusal, not only felt himself highly gratified with it, but declared to the present editor, that "Mr. Harmer's Observations coincided exactly with those he had himself made during his long and extensive travels in the East, and that they were founded on facts the most correct." Such a testimony, from a gentleman so fully qualified to express an opinion on the subject, cannot fail to stamp the preceding sheets with additional importance in the eye of every intelligent and pious reader. EDIT.

FIRST INDEX.

HEBREW AND CHALDEE WORDS.

	Volume	Page
אכטחים	ii	11 & 13 notes
אבוסים	ii	80
אבי עד	iv	313
אגמיהם	iii	433
אדם	ii	112
ארמדם	iv	259
אזרח	iv	73
אהר	ii	187
אט	iii	109 n
איים	iv	67
איל	iv	29
איטה כנרגלות	ii	215
אלה	iv	72
אמון, אמן	iv	79 n
ארבה	i	305 n
ארב	i	305
ארג	iv	172
ארגמן	iv	345
ארחה	ii	178
ארנכת	iii	254
אשישי	iv	150
אשנב	i	305
אתתא פונדקיתא	i	305 n
בא	i	173
בגדי חפש	iv	345
בגדים	iv	118
בגדרות	ii	174
בד	iv	78n. 82, 83
בדרך מצרים	iii	412
בואי	i	173
בוץ	iv	78,n. 80, 344
בחדר חמטות	iv	319
בטח	ii	12 n
בית	i	283n. iii. 350
בית עקד	i	241 n
בך	i	135
בכה	iii	350, 354
בכפתריה	i	328
בליל	ii	145
בנפך ארגמן	iv	345
בסר	iii	217
בעל דברים	iii	172
בעלי חצים	iii	226
בעליל לארץ	ii	95
בצלחת	ii	44
בקבוק	ii	93
בקבק	ii	61
בקעה	i	221
ברברים אבוסים	ii	80
בת	i	283, 284
גביע	ii	94 n
גג	i	299 n
גדיש	iii	241
גזים	iv	302
גלוי	iii	111
גלת	iii	165
גמא	iv	72
דבלים	i	447
דגול מרבבה	ii	214
דגן	ii	216
דור	ii	98

	Volume	Page
רגן	iii	235
דורי	iv	174
דק	i	272 n
ה	i	299 n
האבטחים	iv	45 n
האח	i	349 n
הבצלים	iv	45
הר אל	iv	37
החציר	iv	45 n
הטחנות	iii	140
הכלמנום	i	224
הלון	i	305
הפה הפה	iii	347
הסתו	i	140
הקשאים	iv	44 n
הראות	iii	136
השומים	iv	45 n
התרפים	iv	139
ו	iii	28
ואשישה ואשפר	iv	146
וחגבים	iii	223 n
ויבל לחמורים	ii	145
ויסקלו	ii	221
ויפתח	iii	111
וישלחו	iii	344
וישרפו לו שרפה גדולה	iii	69 n
ולא נס לחה	iii	154
ועל אנמיהם	iii	433 n
ועל פיך ישק כל עמי	ii	263 n
ועשתה את צפרניה	iv	84 n
ותצנח מעל החמור	ii	272
זונה	i	304 n
זכר	iii	233
חג	iii	223
חגב	iii	155
חדש	iv	341
חום	iv	261
חיק	ii	45
חית קנה	iv	60
חכלילית חכלילי	iv	257
חכמה	i	424, 425
חמשים	ii	203
חמר	ii	112
חמת	ii	87, iv. 269
חנם	iv	50
חסידה	ii	344, iii. 266
חסידה ותור וסיס ועגור	iii	267 n
חסיל	iii	243
חצות	iii	372
חק	iii	46
חרט	iii	109 n
חרך	ii	78
חרף	i	102, n. 124
טבעית	iv	248
טחור	iv	112 n
טירה, טירותיהם	i	260
טנא	ii	99, 140 n
טנים	iv	353
יורה ומלקוש	i	152 n
יחמס	iii	217
יטו	iv	119
ילל	iii	41
ים	iii	469
ימחאו כף	ii	322 n
יסב	iii	417
יסתבל	iii	150
יעדר	iv	276
יער	ii	54 n
יערת חרבש	ii	59
יצא	i	173
יריעות	i	272 n
ירך	i	325 n
ירכתי	i	323
ירק	iv	261

	Volume	Page
ישבת שפיר	iii	347
ישהו	iii	148 n
יתאדם	ii	112
יתנו	iii	84
כבד	iv	254
כביר העזים	iv	176, 180
כד	ii	96
כדור נפוח ואגמן	ii	92 n
כוין	i	305 n
כום	ii	93 n
כי טח מראות עניחם	iii	387
ככר	iv	148
כל העמים תקעו כף	ii	322
כלוב	ii	98
כלים	iii	369
כמעשה לבנת	i	315
כנים	iii	416
כנף רננים	ii	344
ככא	ii	371, 372 n
ככמת	iii	205
כפר	i	356
כפתרי	i	326
כר	iv	195
כרות, כרת	i	230
כרמיל	iv	260
כתנת	ii	297
לאתות	iv	317
לבב	i	409 n
לבבות	i	409
לבן	i	307, iv. 260
להתנוסס	iii	379 n
לחם, לחס	i	379 n. 395 n
לחק	iii	46
למטה	iii	312
לפיד	iv	156
לקחת	iii	333
לקחת צדה לעם	iii	334 n
לתנות	iii	84
מאתים	iv	253 n
מגדים	iv	279
מגלת	iii	114
מהר	iv	211
מוצא	iii	312
מחה	ii	322 n
מטה	ii	276
מטעמים	i	335
מכם	iii	358
מכנסים	ii	297
מכתם	iii	121
מלבן	i	310
מנחה	ii 235, iv.	112
מספחות	ii	301
מעגל	iii	329
מעוג	i	408
מעשה מקשה קרחה	iv	242 n
מעשה רקם מעשה חשב	iv	172
מצלוה הסוס	ii	209 n
מקהלות	iii	308
מקץ ימים לימים	iv	254 n
מרוחים	i	29
משארות	iv	290
משארת	ii	140 n
משאת	ii	187
משח	ii	370
משמר	iii	411 n
משרוקיתא	ii	139 n
מתן	iv	211
נבל	ii	96, 137
נהרתיה	iii	194
נהש	iv	63
ניד	ii	97
נוף	ii	54 n
נזם	iv	247
נזמי האף	iv	244
נס	iii	378
נסמן	iii	203
נפקד	i	224
נפת	ii	60
נקדים	i	407
נשאים	i	175

	Volume	Page
סדין	iv	83
סדינים	iv	266
טוס	i 218, iv.	167
טוף	iv	73
	ii	96
סירות דונה	iii	280
סך	i	279
סכה	i	273 n
סכות	i	192
סל	ii	99
ספח	ii	304
ספל	ii	94
ספף	ii	93 n
סקלו	ii	221
עגה	i	410
עגיל	iv	247
עורי	i	173
עורי צפון ובוא תימן	i	172
עינות	iii	311
עין	ii	311 n
על	ii	36, 263
על הגג	i	299
על יאריהם	iii	433 n
על נהרתם	iii	432 n
עליה	i	282, 283
עליות מרוחים	i	290 n
עלית	i	282
עמד עמדתו	iii	359 n
ענושים	iv	121
עסים	ii	117
עפרת	iii	59
ערבה	iv	98
ערמות	iii	200
ערש	ii	278
פונרק	i	305
פי	ii	263
פלח	i	448
פני	iv	337
פננה	iv	164
פנת	i	301
פסים	ii	297
פשת	iv	78 n
פשתי	iv	79
פתיל	iv	249
צאנן	iii	349
צבי	iv	29
צהר	i	305 n
צוף	ii	54 n
צוף רבש	ii	59
צור	iii	53
צחר	ii	280
צלחות	ii	93
צלחת	ii	44, 45, 93
צמר	ii	280
צנה	ii	348
צנות	iii	278
צנח	ii	272 n
צנית	iii	280
צף	ii	94
צפור	iii	146
צפחת	ii	93, 98
צפרח	iii	146 n
צפצף	iii	268
קאת	i	327
קריאת גבר	i	373
קהל	iii	308 n
קטר	iii	70 n
קיץ	i	102
קיקיון	iv	72
קלחת	ii	96
קנה	iv	72
קסת	iv	298
קפד	i	327, 328 n
קפוד	i	327
קציר	i	155 n
קרנע	ii	139 n
ריח	i	168 n
רני	iii	31
רום	iv	65
רתם	iv	272, 273

	Volume	Page
שבט	iii	108
שורת	ii	170
דים	iv	65
שחוט	iv	243
שחור	iv	260
שלך	iv	26
שלף	iv	299, 300
שמש שמשת	i	305 n
שני	iv	260
שעטנז	iv	78 n
שפת	ii	30
שפיר	i	192
שפז	iii	254
שקמוחם	iv	71
שקמים	iv	71 n

	Volume	Page
שקף	i	305 n
שקר	iii	153
שרף	iii	70 n
שש	iv	78, 79 n
		83, 84
תגידו	iii	350, 352
תהום	iii	194
תולע	iv	260
תנים ,תנו תנין	iv	64 n
תנינים	iv	64 n
תעלתיה	iii	194
תף	ii	134
תפוחים	ii	126
תקות חוט השני	i	305 n
תרן	ii	216

בארץ ערבה ושוחה בארץ ציה וצלמות בארץ לא עבר בה איש ולא ישב אדם שם — iv 89 n

כנף רננים נעלסה אם אברה חסידה ונצה — ii 344 n

שאי אליו כפיך על נפש עולליך — iii 31 n

שוי כדון ידך בגזירת מהולתי — iv 194 n

שפתים ישק משיב דברים נכחים — ii 266 n

For other Hebrew and Chaldee words, see under the prefixes ב, ה, ו, ', כ, &c.

ARABIC AND PERSIAN.

ابريزكان	i	108	n
بوس زمين	ii	259	n
بيت	i	191, 282, 283 n. iii. 350	n
پابوس	ii	258	n
تخت دار	ii	366	n
تير	i	108	n
جام جم	iv	311	n
جام جمشيد	iv	ib.	n

حاجن	i	410	n
حوج	i	410	n
خيمه	i	191	n
دامن بوس دادن	ii	259	n
در	i	282	
ديوان	i	326	n
روي زمين	ii	259	n
زينة ، زينه	i	337	n
سجاده	iv	126	n
روي زمين	ii	259	n
شق العجوز	ii	173	n
شوربا	ii	74	n
عشا	i	342	n
علي	i	283	n
علي لكم العرس	ii	210	n
عليه	i	282, 183	n
غرقة	i	283	n
قنند	i	327	n
لعل	iv	164	
متاره	ii	97	n
مجلس	ii	86	n
منزل	ii	70	n
يوم الزينة	i	337	n

For other Persian and Arabic words, see under *Koran* and *Hafez* in the General Index.

SECOND INDEX.

GREEK WORDS AND PHRASES

MORE OR LESS EXPLAINED IN THE COURSE OF THE WORK.

	Volume.	Page.
Αβατος	iv	96
Αγελαρου	iv	67
Ανωγεον μεγα εστρωμενον	ii	279 n
Αυθεσαι	i	xlvii
Ακαρπος	iv	95
Αμοιτην	iv	147
Αμφιβολεις	iv	43 n
Αμφιταπος	i	382 n
Ανασηθι και στρωσον σεαυτω	ii	278 n
Ανυδρος	iv	91.
Απειρος	iv	89, 96
Απο	i	lii
Απογραφη	i	lxxxviii
Αρρος	iv	68
Αρτοναινα / Αρτοκοπικον	iv	147
Ασκω υδατος	iv	195
Ασπαζομαι	ii	246
Αυλητας	iii	26
Βαιθακαδ	i	241 n
Βαττολογια	i	84
Βοθροιπι	iv	163 n
Βυσσος	iv	83 n
Δοκειν	i	lxxxvi
Δεονται	i	384
Δορα εκλεκτα	ii	188
Δορατα χρυσα ελατα	ii	348 n
Δωκειν	i	lxxxvi
Δρακοντες	iv	64
Δυομενης πλειαδος	i	106
Εβοησεν εκ τε Ονου	ii	272 n
Εγκυφιας	i	408, 410

	Volume.	Page.
Ει ερωθησεται αρτος ανευ αλος	i	397
Ειλημα	iii	114, 115
Ενγαδδι	iii	186
Ενυδρις	iv	64
Επι	ii	201
Επι τε τιχχς εις Νινευη	iv	183, 185
Επιθυμιαις	iv	124, 126
Επικειμενον	ii	33
Επισιον	ii	181, 182
Εσχαριτην	iv	147
Εφερον αυτοις	i	379 n
Εχαιρετισεν	ii	197 n
Εχινοι	i	327 n
Εχειν	i	lxxxvi
Ην αραντες	iv	326
Θερισρον	iv	193
Θορυβος	iii	21
Θως	iv	64
Κεφαλις	iii	114
Κνισεν	iv	62, 69
Κλιβανον	i	437
Κολλυριδα Αρτε	iv	147
Κολλυριτην	iv	147
Κολπον	i	xc
Κροκοδειλος παρδαλις	iv	67
Κροκοδειλος χερσαιος	iv	67
Κροκστας	iv	68
Κρομμυα	iv	45 n
Κροτων	iv	72 n
Κυκιοφορου	iv	70
Κωμοις	iv	124
Κωνωπειον	iv	139 n

	Volume.	Page.
Λαγανον απο τηγανε / Λαγανον τηγανε	iv	147
Λαμβανω	i	lxxxix
Λαμπας	iv	275
Λαμπτηρες	i	349
Λεαινα	iv	65
Λινξ	iv	65
Λινω εσθημαΐι	iv	268
Λυχνος	iv	275
Μεριδα θυματος	iv	144
Μισυλλον	ii	176
Ναβλα	ii	139 n
Νεσσα	ii	345
Ξιοιτ	iv	69
Οικουμενην, πασαν την	i	lxxxviii
Οινοφλυγια	iv	124, 125, 129
Οινοχοος	iii	333
Ονοκενταυρα	iv	68, 73
Οπισω τε τειχες Νινευη	iv	133, 135
Οστρακινοις σκευεσιν	ii	117
Ουκ απεκωλυσαμεν / Ουκ ενετειλαμεθα	i	224
Ουτως	ii	197, 202
Οψαριον	ii	32, 33
Πελιδνοι	iv	258
Πεπονας	ii	11 iv. 45
Πεπορευμενους εν ασελγειαις	iv	124, 159
Περιλαμβανω	ii	327 n
Πολυλογια	i	lxxxiv
Πορνη	i	305 n
Ποτοις	iv	124
Πρασα	iv	45 n
Προδρομω δομε	i	xlvii

	Volume	Page.
Πτερυγιον αινιγντων συναναπλεκει / Πτερυξ τερπομενων	ii	344
Ρινοκερος	iv	64
Σαυος	iv	66
Σεσημασμενον ατενοι	i	xcv
Σικυους	iv	44 n
Σκνιφες. σκνιπες, σκνιφες	iii	417 n
Σκοπελισμος	iv	308
Σκορδα	iv	45 n
Σορος	iii	61, 62
Στολας των δοξων	iv	136 n
Στρεθιον	iii	146
Σφιγγια	iv	66, 68
Ταφος	iii	97
Τεμενη	i	285
Τηγανον	i	402
Τιγρις	iv	65
Τομω εν	iii	116
Τρυγητον	i	156 n
Ταβους	iv	69
Τωερωον	i	282–4
Φατνη εν	ii	159 n
Φοινικες	ii	130
Φρεριον ερυμνον	iv	58
Φωτα	i	lxiv. 337
Χαλασαντων	iv	327
Χεχαρ Αρβε	iv	147
Χοιροποταμθυ	iv	66
Χοιροποταμου Χορβος	i	436
Ωαντες	iv	64, 69
Ωμολινον	ii	361

N.B. The reader will be pleased to observe, that the words and phrases, both of the Hebrew and Greek Index, are set down in the forms in which they occur in the different OBSERVATIONS; the former in general not being separated from their prefixes, and the latter not reduced to their nominative case, or first persons.

THIRD INDEX.

TEXTS MORE OR LESS ILLUSTRATED.

Chapter	Verse	Volume	Page
	GENESIS.		
viii	11	iii	273
xi	3	i	361 n
xii	14, 15	iv	203 n
	16		210
xiii	2	i	249, 250
	10	iii	177 n. 178
xiv	1—9		346
	10		328
	14	i	244
	15		253
xv	3	iv	231
	9		52 n
xvi	14	ii	149
xviii	1	i	194
	8	ii	69
xix	1	iv	350, 351
xx	1, 2	iv	203
	22	i	245
xxi	15, 16	iv	24
	22, 23, 26	ii	396 n
xxiii	2	iii	11
	6, 15	ii	258
	16	i	250
xxiv	2	iv	191
	11, 16	ii	143 n
	14	iv	194
	18		197
	22		330
	47		245
	53	ii	101
	65	iv	197
	67	i	247
xxv	34	iii	76
xxvi	12, 16	i	200
	15, 18	iii	341 n
xxvii	4, 7, 9, 14, 17, 31	i	385
	15		190
xxxix	1, &c.		244
	2, 8		243
	11	ii	194 n
xxx	31—35	i	252
xxxi	17, &c.		268
	19		183
	27	ii	153
xxxi	34	ii	161 n
	40	i	144, n. 180
	46	ii	35
xxxii	22		143
xxxiii	4		266 n
	8, 10		244
	13	i	254
xxxiv	1, 2	iv	208
	2	iii	126
	12, 13	iv	211
	21	i	249
xxxv	4	iv	248
	8, 20		222
	14	ii	122
xxxvii	25, 28, 36		163
	26, 27, 28	iv	225
	34	ii	316
xxxviii	12	i	183
	16, 17	iii	252
	18	iv	249
xli	40	ii	263
	42	iv	75 n. 79
	42, 43	ii	349
xliii	11		56, 130, 142
	29		256
	33		83, 85
	34		81, 85
xliv	1		148
	5	iv	311
	18	iii	392, 393
xlv	2		21
	11, 14	ii	266 n
	22		330 n
xlvii	29	iv	191
xlix	22, 23	iii	225
l	26		160
	EXODUS.		
i	19	iv	333
ii	5	iii	402
vii	18		429
		iv	39
	19	iii	429, 431, 432
viii	16, &c.	iii	416
ix	32	iv	16
xii	11	ii	164
	15, 19	i	418 n
	34	iv	288
xiii	17, 18		21
	18	ii	203
xv	20		325

Chapter	Verse	Volume	Page
xx	18	iv	157
xxi	10	i	384
xxii	5	iii	227 n
	6		240 n
	31	i	352
xxiv	14	iii	172
xxxiii	4—6	iv	136
LEVITICUS.			
ii	5	i	404, 405
iii	9	iii	254
vii	15, 18	i	387
xi	5, 6	iii	254
	32, 33	i	255
	35		438
xii	8	iii	271 n
xiii	45		15
xiv	22		271 n
xv	9	ii	163
xxvi	26	i	459
NUMBERS.			
vii	2, &c.	ii	206
x	31		217
xi	1	iv	19
	5	ii	11
		iv	38, 44
	5, 6		43
xi	10	iii	12
	18	iv	103
	31, 32		282
xii	12	iii	16 n
	14	iv	336
xiii	23, 24		15
	20, 23, 25	i	178
xvi	15	ii	242
xx	5		115 n
xxiii	23, 23	iv	183
xxxi	20	i	139
DEUTERONOMY.			
i	28	i	338
vii	22	iii	258
viii	7, 8	ii	115 n
		iii	189
xi	10		315 n
	10, 11	i	114, 116
xii	15, 22	iv	28
xiv	1	iii	19
	1	iv	159, 343
xvi	11	i	389
xvii	18—20	ii	308
xxi	12	iv	84
xxii	6		31
	10	i	446 n
xxiv	20	iii	210
xxv	9	iv	337
xxviii	5, 17	ii	142 n
xxxii	10	iv	101
xxxii	13	iii	192
	14		228
xxxiv	3	i	356 n
	7	iii	154
	8		27
JOSHUA.			
ii	6	iv	79
v	9, 10		327
	11	i	442
ix	23	iv	230
x	11	iii	367
JUDGES.			
i	14	ii	270, 272
iii			163
	18		236
	20	i	288
	20—23		283
iv	19		424
	5		270 n
	17, 18, 20		266
v	6	ii	165
	10		280
	11	iii	313
	15		108
	17		275 n
	20, 21	i	270 n
	25		256, 424
	36	iii	380
	28	i	305 n
	30	ii	298
vi	2	iii	306
	19	ii	74
vii	16, &c.	iii	336
	3, 16, 19, 20	ii	203 n
	4, 5, 6		44
viii	5, 8, 16, 17		234
	26		338
ix	36	i	lxxvi
	46		365
	51	iii	325
xi	39, 40		46 n
xiii	15—20	iv	214 n
xiv	12		266
xv	1	ii	68 n
	6		282
xvi	27	i	284
xix	5, 8	ii	90
	9		188
xxi	19—21	i	273
	21	iii	223
RUTH.			
ii	14	i	389, 442
I SAMUEL.			
i	2	iv	164

Chapter	Verse	Volume	Page
ii	8	i	432
iv	13	ii	274 n
	18		371
v	1, 8, 9, 10	iii	343
	4		382
vi	4, 5		302
vii	10, 11		366
	28	ii	273 n
viii	17	iii	391 n
ix	7	ii	225
	24		67
	25, 26	i	299
x	5, 6	ii	308
	27		233
xii	3		242
	16—18	i	112
xiii	6	iii	306
xiv	2		210
xv	33	iv	179 n
xvi	1, 13	ii	109
	20		68 n
xvii	43	i	351
	57	iii	380
xviii	4	ii	299
	6		324 n
	25, 27	iii	375
xix	12—17	iv	139
	24		138
xx	30		324
xxi	9	ii	382
xxii	6		333
xxiii	15—18	i	232
xxiv	12	ii	258
xxv	1, 8, 18, 36	i	241
	2, 7, 15, 16, 18		183
	7		224
	11	ii	102
	18	i	448
	23	ii	271 n
xxvi	5	iii	329
xxix	1	iii	307
xxx	11, 12	ii	142
	12	i	448 n
	21	ii	143
xxxi	12	i	160
	13		160

II SAMUEL.

i	10	ii	336
	18	iii	118
iii	31—34		29
	34		285
iv	2—7	i	417 n
	8	iii	380 n
	12		381
v	23, 24		196
vi	19	iv	143
	24, 25	ii	326 n
viii	3	iii	296 n
ix	10	ii	86, 87
xi	1	iii	362
	8, 10	ii	88
xii	16—21	iv	325
xiii	18	ii	296
xiv	17, 20	iii	392
	26	iv	253
xv	22	iii	377
xvi	1	ii	131
	2		128
	13		309 n
xvii	8	iii	124
	8, 9		330
	17	iv	163 n
	19	i	444
	28, 29		378, 443
		ii	232
	29	i	426
xviii	11	ii	388
	17	iv	261
	24—33	i	359 n
	33		282
xix	8		359 n
xx	1		140
	9	ii	267
xxi	10	i	159
xxiii	16, 17	ii	352
	20	iii	302

I KINGS.

i	9	ii	22
	39		109
	40		256
ii	5		354
	25	iii	286 n
iv	13	i	340
	17—19	iii	391
	23	ii	80
	25	i	355 n
	28	ii	144
	30, 31	iii	172
vii	7	i	317
x	13	iv	154
	16	ii	108, 348
	21		107
x	22	iv	108, 263
	28		75 n
xi	14, 15, 17, 18	iii	291
xiii	7	ii	243
xiv	3	i	407
		ii	227
	10	iii	289 n
xv	18, 19	ii	245
xvi	3	iii	294 n
xvii	12	i	445
xviii	5		164
	19	iv	161
	33	i	446
	42	iv	334
	44	i	119
	45		165

Chapter	Verse	Volume	Page
	46	ii	312 n
xx	12, 16	i	192
	31, 32	iii	370
	34		372
xxi	21		289 n
xxii	39	i	190, 313
	II KINGS.		
i	2	iii	249 n
	8	iv	335
ii	23		336
iii	16, 17	i	165
	19	iii	317
	23	ii	220 n
	25	iii	317
iv	10	i	282
		ii	372
	23	iv	340
	24	ii	164
	29		248 n
	39		76
v	11		230
	16		233
	17	iv	323
	21	ii	270 n
vi	2	iv	321
	25	ii	13
	32, 33	iii	287 n
vii	1, 18	iv	350
	12	iii	338
	15		368
viii	9	ii	236
	13	i	351
	15	iv	142
ix	2	i	282
	2—11		365
	8	iii	289
	13	i	362
	30		350
x	12, 14	i	241 n
	15, 16	ii	366
	27	iv	324
xi	12	ii	321
xii	10	iii	391
xiii	21		61
xiv	26		293
xvi	6		320
xviii	32	i	399
xix	24	iii	315
xxiii	12	i	282
xxiv	7	iii	400 n
xxv	28, 29	ii	86
xxxiv	17	iv	330
	I CHRONICLES.		
ii	34, 35	iv	231
xii	1	iii	290
	40	i	378
		iv	301

Chapter	Verse	Volume	Page
xiv	14, 15	iii	196
xxiv	3	ii	281 n
xxvi	6	iii	318
xxvii	28		212
		iv	12
xxxviii	18	ii	163
	II CHRONICLES.		
i	16	iv	75 n
vi	28	iii	243
ix	9	ii	58
	21	iv	108, 263
	24	ii	296
xvi	14	iii	67, 68
xx	14—21	ii	329
xxi	19	iii	68
xxii	11	iv	321
xxvi	10	iii	327
xxviii	15	i	356 n
xxxi	5	ii	56
xxxii	3, 4	iii	311
	30		312
xxxv	20		296, 400
	25		45
xxxvi	4	iv	330
	EZRA.		
iv	14	iv	178
viii	15	ii	153
	27	iv	321
x	9	i	133
	NEHEMIAH.		
ii	10	ii	186
iii	7	i	191
		ii	346 n
iv	3,4		170
	7, 8	i	202
v		ii	103, 111
vi	5	ii	334
vii	3		190
viii	10, 12		87
ix	22		280
xiii	15	iii	294
	ESTHER.		
i	6	i	316, 325
	6, 7		317
	9	ii	88
v	6		119
vi	7—9		304
vii	8		300
ix	19, 22		87
	JOB.		
ii	2	ii	310
vi	6	i	397
vii	6	iv	171 n

Chapter	Verse	Volume	Page
vii	12	iii	406
ix	25	ii	155
xiv	17	iii	391
xv	33		213, & n
xviii	5, 6	i	335
xix	23, 24	iii	52, 103
xx	17	i	422 n
xxi	17		335
	32	iii	61
	33		85
xxiv	4—8	iv	100
	6	ii	145
	11		170
	16	i	308
xxvii	16, 17	ii	231
	23		321
xxix	2, 3	iv	350
2, 4, 19, 20		i	125
xxix	6	i	420 n
	7	ii	274
		iv	350
xxx	4	i	393, 395
5, 6, 7			278
26, 27		ii	262
xxxvii	18	iv	262
xxxviii	14		295
	30	iii	194 n
	13	ii	343
xli	7	iii	280
		iv	36
	20	ii	91
26—29		iv	36
	31	i	435

PSALMS.

vi	6	ii	277
xix	10		54, 59
xxii		iii	118, 119
xxviii	2	ii	379
	47	iv	11
xl	7	iii	114
xlii			119
	4	iv	154
	7	iii	174
xliv	20, 21	ii	378
xlv		iii	119
	3	ii	163
	8	i	190, 313
	11	ii	267 n
xlvii	1		322
lvi		iii	118, 119
	8	ii	97
lviii	6	iii	304
	9	i	434
lix	6, 14, 15		351
lx		iii	118
	3, 4		378
lxv	9		316

Chapter	Verse	Volume	Page
lxviii	9	iv	116
	13	i	227
	26	iii	308
	31	ii	378
lxix	12, 14	iv	350, 351
	15	i	243
lxxii	8, 9	ii	260
	10	ii	238
lxxv	8		113
lxxix	2, 3	iv	185
lxxx		ii	167
		iii	119
lxxxi	16		193
lxxxiv	6		296
	7	ii	143
lxxxvii	3	i	135
lxxxix	11	iii	384
xc	4	i	342
xcii	10	iii	199
xcviii	2	ii	322 n
civ	17		344 n
		iii	261
cxvi	13	ii	121 n
cxix	83	i	257
cxxi	5	ii	339
cxxiii	2		318
cxxix	6	iv	299
cxxxv	7	i	173, 174
cxxxvi	5, 6		201
cxxxvii	1—3	ii	25 n
		iv	155 n
cxliii	6	iii	201
cxlvii	16, 17	i	130

PROVERBS.

i	20, 21	iv	352
	27	i	168
iii	8	iv	320
v	3	ii	60
vii	13		194
	16	iv	83
	20		340
viii	3	iv	352
	15		189
ix	1, &c.	ii	20
	2		114
	14		371
x	5	iv	17 n
xii	9		227 n
	27	ii	79
xv	17		78, 176
	19		167
		iii	180
xvi	14		287
	15	i	152
	24	ii	59
xvii	14	i	115 n
	19		208

Chapter	Verse	Volume	Page
xix	13		301
	24	ii	43
xx	26	iv	110
xxi	1		10
	9	i	301
	17		397 n
xxiii	1, 3		386
	20	ii	78
	27		173
	31		113
xxiv	31		170
	36		264
xxv	13		122, 123
	14	i	165
	23		169
	24		301
	26	iii	313
	27	ii	52
xxvi	15		44
xxvii	9		282
	14		173
	15	i	301
	26		139
	27		428
xxxi	4, 5		370 n
	22	iv	79
	24		83, 265

ECCLESIASTES.

ii	7	ii	307
iii	5	iv	309
	7	ii	315
iv	11	i	295
vii	6		435
x	7	ii	164, 306
	8	iii	180
	16	i	370
	17		370
xi	2		179
	4		117
xii	2—6	iii	131, 168
	11		169

CANTICLES.

i	1	iii	121
	5	i	261, 265, 271, 272
ii	4	ii	216
	11, 12, 13	i	140
	14		353
iii	8	ii	163
iv	16	i	172
v	1	ii	54, 59
	4	i	341
		ii	215
	10		214, 215
vii	8		126
	11—13	iv	278

Chapter	Verse	Volume	Page
	ISAIAH.		
i	8	ii	167
	30	iv	278
ii	20		294
iii	7	ii	104 n
	16—24	iv	240
	17	ii	303
	20	iv	248
	21		244
	23		83
	26	ii	303 n
iv	6	i	168
v	1	iii	188
	2	ii	222
	12		134, 136, 137
	22		114
vi	1		368
	10	iii	387
vii	4	i	435
	15	ii	47 n
ix	6	iv	312
	9, 10	i	286
x	1	iii	395
xii		iv	175
	14—16		345
xiii	20	i	329
xiv	4		190 n
xvii	6	iii	210, 211
xviii	2	ii	155
	5	iii	217 n
xix	5, 6, 7		433
	8, 9, 10	iv	43
xxii	15—17	iii	87 n
	23	i	311
	24	ii	109
xxiii	16	iii	405
xxiv	10		143
	13		210, 211
xxvi	19		90
xxvii	2	ii	113 n
xxviii	25, &c.	iii	202, 207
	28	iv	109
xxix	1	i	343
xxx	24	ii	145, 146
	29	iv	154 n
xxxi	3		73
	6	i	213
xxxii	20		446
xxxiii	29	ii	330 n
xxxiv	4	iii	227
xxxvii	36	i	168 n
xxxviii	12	iv	170
	14		168
xliii	2	iii	242
xliv	18		387
xlv	2	i	341
	3	iii	390
xlix	9, 10, 11	ii	23
	22	iv	227
	23	ii	259

Chapter	Verse	Volume	Page
	26		119
li	11		208
lv	12	ii	321
lviii	5		374 n
	13, 14		376
lx	8	i	305, 352
lxiii	10	ii	219
lxii	2	iii	228
	13, 14	i	216
lxvi	20	iv	111
	JEREMIAH.		
i	13, 15	i	411
ii	6	iv	88 n
iii	2	i	207
iv	17	ii	168
vi	2	i	265 n
viii	7	iii	261 n
ix	17, 18		35, 36
x	18	i	174, 175
xiii	4—7	iii	110
xiv	4		201
xv	18	ii	219 n
xvi	6	iii	11, 22
		iv	342, 343
	7	iii	22
xvii	13		104 n
xviii	14	ii	123
xx	15	iv	338
xxii	13	i	303
	14		290
xxv	10		415 n
	10, 11		335 n
xxvi	10	ii	88
xxxi	4, 5	iii	221
xxxii	11		385
	14		110
xxxiii	10	ii	330 n
xxxiii	10, 11		328
	11		326 n
	13	iii	391
xxxiv	3, 5	ii	311
	5	iii	68 n
xxxvi	2	ii	336 n
		iii	117
	22	i	137
	22, 23		348 n
	23	iii	106
	30	i	181
xxxvii	15	iii	383
	16—20		384
	21	i	439
	22		365
xxxviii	7, 10, 12	ii	363
	21, 22	iii	346
xxxix	16	ii	363
xl	5		244
xli	5	iv	342
	7	i	213
	8	iii	213 n
		iv	292
	9	i	213
xliii	9		310
	12		214
xliv	17, &c.	ii	121
xvii	5	iv	342
xlviii	28	i	353
	37	iv	342
xlix	3	ii	174
	8, 30	i	212
li	16	i	174, 175
	25	iii	241 n
	LAMENTATIONS.		
ii	15	ii	321
	19	iii	30
iii	10		124
iv	5	i	430
	7, 8	iv	177
v	4	ii	172
	10	iv	178
	EZEKIEL.		
i	4	i	166
iii	5, 6		214
iv	7	iii	48 n
v	1, &c.	ii	269 n
vii	16	i	353
viii	1		136
	14	iii	11 n
ix	2	iv	297
xii	3—7	ii	150
xiii	11	i	308
	18, 19	ii	301
	19	i	440 n
xvi	10	iv	229
xvi	12	iv	244
	13, 15, 18, 19	ii	19
xvii	3	iv	291
	17	ii	143 n
xx	5	i	198
	47	iii	126
xxi	21	iv	166
xxiii	40, 41	ii	318 n
	41		277
xxiv	3—12	i	412
	17	iii	15, 23
xxv	4	i	260
	6	ii	323 n
xxvii	7	iv	75 n
	11		95
	12, 16	ii	366
	18		279
xxix	3	iii	434
xxxi	4		194 n
xxxii	27		49
xxxiii	30	i	134

Chapter	Verse	Volume	Page
xxxiv	25		235
		iii	258
xliii	8	ii	380
	15	i	344
xliv	2, 3	ii	364
xlv	12	iv	338 n
xlvii	10	iii	274
xxiii	6	iv	345
xxvii	7		345
	16		346, 347
	20		348
	22		347
	24		345, 347
xxix	3		353
xxx	2		353
DANIEL.			
i	15	ii	90 n
ii	46		283
iii	21		355
iv	4	iii	199
	29	i	300
v	1, &c.		391 n
	9	ii	293
	11	iii	74
	16, 19	ii	292
vi	10	i	305 n
HOSEA.			
ii	6	ii	167
		iii	180
iii	2	iv	340
ix	10	ii	168
xii	1	iii	418
		iv	355
xiv	5—7	iii	231, 232
	7, 8		234
JOEL.			
i	5	ii	117, 118
	12		126
ii	20	iii	171 n
	23	i	150, 152, 153
	31	ii	352
iii	3	iii	340
		iv	232
	18	ii	118 n
AMOS.			
i	1	iv	161
	6	i	288
	8	iii	319
ii	6	ii	238
	8	iv	117
iii	12	ii	275 n
		iii	252 n
	15	i	365, 190, 313
iv	1	iii	277
	2		278, 280
	7, 8	i	154
	10	iii	411
v	11	ii	187
vi	4		68, 69
	6		115
	10	iii	36
vii	1	iv	302
viii	6	ii	238
	9, 10	iii	125
ix	6	i	303
	13		203
JONAH.			
iv	5—8	i	278
MICAH.			
i	10	iii	348
vi	15	ii	170
		iii	200
vii	1	ii	169
	4	iii	180
NAHUM.			
ii	7	ii	136, 311
iii	17	i	367
HABAKKUK.			
i	6, 7, 9	iii	332
	8		330
		iv	281
iii	5	iii	127
	9	iv	340
	16, 17, 18	iii	332
ZEPHANIAH.			
i	8, 9	i	208
ii	6		230
	7		329 n
	14		326, 327
ZECHARIAH.			
iii	10	ii	27
iv	7	i	293
viii	23	ii	251 n
ix	3	i	307
xii	11—14	iii	26
xiii	5	iv	161 n
	6		158 n
xiv	16, 17	i	107
	18		162
	20	ii	208
MALACHI.			
i	8	ii	241
iv	3	i	309

Chapter	Verse	Volume	Page
APOCRYPHA.			
I ESDRAS.			
i	32	iii	28
iv	6		390 n
ix	51	ii	87
TOBIT.			
i. ii		iv	184
iv	17	i	118
		iii	95
vi	2		276 n
	5		277
	16	ii	282 n
vii	1		193
viii	2		282 n
ix	5	iii	391
JUDITH.			
i	12	iii	402
xii	15	i	238
WISDOM.			
ii	7, 8	ii	16
xiii	13, 14	iv	129
ECCLESIASTICUS.			
xxiv	13—17	iii	184
xxiv	14	iii	182 n
	27		422
xxx	18		95
xxxviii	17	iv	325
xl	4	ii	361
xli	17, 19		195
	19		197
	20		247
	21	iv	152 n
BARUCH.			
ii	25	i	181 n
vi	27	iii	95 n
BELL AND THE DRAGON.			
v	3	i	445 n
I MACCABEES.			
i	23	iii	388 n
iii	32	ii	339 n
	46	iii	375
v	29		390
II MACCABEES.			
xii	40	iii	97
NEW TESTAMENT.			
MATTHEW.			
iii	4	iv	200, 319
v	47	ii	245
vi	28, 29, 30	i	327
ix	23	iii	9, 26
xi	17		32
xiv	10, 11		286 n
xviii	26, 29	ii	253
xix	24	i	291 n
xxi	8	i	147 n
	9	ii	355
	33		121
xxii	2		320 n
xxiii	27	iii	79, 92
	29, 30	iii	77
xxv	4	iv	275 n
MARK.			
i	6	iv	200
	29—31	ii	279 n
v	5	iv	342 n
	38	iii	20
vii	25, 26	ii	252
ix	41	i	390
xi	8		147 n
xiv	3	iv	188
	21, 22,		268
xv	25	i	375 n
xvi	1	iii	70 n
LUKE.			
ii	7	ii	158
	44		200 n
iii	1	i	187 n
	14	iii	48 n
v	8	ii	252
	39		117
vi	48	i	147, 148
vii	45	ii	269
viii	41, 44		252
ix	3		182
x	3—11		182
	4		249
	34, 35		266
xi	3		182
	11, 12, 20		62
	11, 13		30
xii	27	i	119
	54		118
	55		170
xiii	8	iv	277
xiv	17	ii	21 n

Chapter	Verse	Volume	Page
	21		319
	23, &c.		173
	28	iii	326
xv	8	iv	275
	22	ii	266 n
	29		68 n
		iii	252
xxiii	36	ii	117 n
xxiv	42		32, 61

JOHN.

i	48	iii	209
iv	6	ii	197
iv	11	ii	142
vi	9		34
vii	37—39	i	106
x	22		337
xi	31	iii	98
xii	1, 2	ii	279 n
xviii	3	iv	275, 276
	18	i	138, 348
	28		374
xix	14		375
	40	iii	64
xxi	4, &c.	ii	30, 34
	9		32
	11	iii	195
	12	ii	33, 34

ACTS.

ii	13	ii	118
ix	34		279 n
	36	i	282
	37	iii	11 n
x	26	ii	253
xii	1	iv	234
	10	i	340
xvii	17, 18	iv	350
xx	3, 9		196
	9		204 n
	17	ii	266 n
xxii	23	ii	310

Chapter	Verse	Volume	Page
		iii	282
xxviii	16, 40	iv	326
	17, 29		326

1 CORINTHIANS.

xiv	7	iii	27 n
	26	ii	153
xvi	22	iii	116 n

2 CORINTHIANS.

iv	7	ii	117 n

COLOSSIANS.

iii	16	ii	154

1 TIMOTHY.

ii	9	iv	237, 238, 239

2 TIMOTHY.

ii	19	iv	298

TITUS.

ii	5	iv	256

JAMES.

i	11	i	369

1 PETER.

iii	3	iv	238
iv	3		272

REVELATION.

vi		iii	122
vii	2	iv	297
viii	8	iii	241 n
x	9, 10	ii	53 n
xix	10		253 n
xxi	2		317
xxii	3		253 n

GENERAL INDEX.

A.

Abimelech, question on the occasion of his death iii. 325 n.
Aboulfarage Sangiari quoted, iii. 125
Abraham, his sitting at the door of his tent i. 193. Was a mighty prince 200. His way of living 248. His manner of entertaining the three angels ii. 69. Honors now paid to his tomb and supposed house iii. 69
Abrizan, *Abrizghian*, or *Abreezgan* an old Persian feast i. 108
Absalom, remarks on the weight of his hair iv. 251. Heap of stones raised over him 308
Abstemiousness conducive to health ii. 77
Achsah, whether she alighted when she preferred her request to her father ii. 270
Addison, his letter from Italy quoted iv. 217 n.
Adonijah, feast made by him ii. 22
Age. See *Old Age*.
Ahab, famine in his days i. 161, 164
Akibah, rabbi, quoted i. 107
Alabaster box, breaking it iv. 189, 190
Alcoves, or divans, in buildings i. 325
Alexander affects to be treated with adoration ii. 255. Pomp with which he was received into Babylon, not idolatrous 290
Ali Bey, his history affords a lively comment on that of Joseph ii. 385
Alighting. See *Dismounting*.
Altars. See *Rock*.
Anacreon quoted iii. 73
Animals represented in the Mosaic pavement of Prænestc iv. 55 to 73
Anointing our Lord's body iii. 71 to 74
Apartments, method of cooling them i. 288
"*Apple*," what fruit probably meant by the word thus translated in some passages of scripture ii. 125 to 130
Arabia, the third, its situation iii. 323 to 325
Arabs lie in wait for travellers and caravans in order to rob them i. 150, 207. Ride into houses for the same purpose *ib*. Association of Arab tribes in order to defend themselves and annoy passengers 210. Their sudden decampments, and retreat into the deserts when pursued by their enemies; and manner in which they elude their pursuers 211 to 213. Their tribes frequently spoil each other 222. Their way of living in their tents 246. Trade carried on by them in cattle, but-

ter, cheese, &c. 248. Their manner of pillaging the caravans 253. Their sudden removes injurious to the young of their flocks *ib.* Their different domestic utensils 254. Their abstemiousness with regard to animal food ii. 78. Their hospitality to travellers 173. See also *Bedouin*, *Cattle*, *Emirs*, and *Tents*.

Arbours on the house tops i. 300

Aristophanes quoted i. 182

Askelon, particulars of this city, iii. 319

Assemblies of inquisitive and curious men have existed in the East since the time of Solomon iii. 169 to 173. Public assemblies of the Arabs for purposes of entertainment iv. 349

Asses anciently esteemed very honorable creatures for riding on ii. 242. The Messiah's riding on one however a mark of meekness and lowliness 307

Astrologers. See *Physicians*.

Autumnal vegetation in the East i. 185

B.

Babylon and Nineveh, opposite circumstances in the ruin of these cities i. 328

Baggage, how travellers dispose of theirs on journeys ii. 150

Bagpipe probably a musical instrument of the ancient Jews ii. 137

Baking, different ways of i. 401 to 406. Bakers and bake houses 439

Balbec. See *Palmyra*.

Balconies, or something of the same sort, forbidden at Jerusalem i. 349

Baldness between the eyes iii. 19

Baldwin II. particulars of an expedition of his iii. 366, 367

Balm of Jericho iii. 184

Banner, the granting of one, a sign of protection iii. 377

Bardacks, a sort of earthen vessels ii. 232

Barley, why presented by Boaz to Ruth i. 442

Bastinado, method of inflicting this punishment iii. 284

Bathing in the Nile, a mode of expressing gratitude for the benefits received from the overflowing of that river iii. 402

Beacon, remark on this word as used in a passage of scripture by our translators ii. 216

Beard, kissing it a token of respect ii. 267. Beards held in high estimation 268. Those of slain enemies taken off as trophies iii. 374

Beating the arms used in mourning for the dead iii. 47

Bedouin Arabs i. 195

Beds, repositories for them iv. 320

Beef thought a coarse kind of food ii. 77

Bees managed with much assiduity in Egypt and Palestine iii. 190 to 195

Behemoth, the river horse iv. 35, 60
Bells sometimes appended both to horses and camels in travelling ii. 208. Used to give warning to caravans to prepare for marching 201 n. Account of carrying two into Persia in triumph iii. 343
Belshazzar, his feast i. 318. His sending for the sacred vessels ii. 110
Benhadad's present to the prophet Elisha ii. 235, 236. Cause of his death iv. 141
Bey, artifice by which one was taken off ii. 300
Bible, extract from an ancient manuscript one iv. 243 n.
Binding sheep in order to shear them i. 241
Birds found in the desert through which Israel passed on their journey to the Promised Land iv. 30
Bitter waters in some parts of the East iii. 360, 361
Blanket. See *Sheets*.
Blessings, why this term is applied in scripture to salutations and farewells ii. 256
Blue garments anciently a mark of distinction iv. 449
Boats, earthen ware ones supposed to be ascribed by Juvenal to the Egyptians i. lxxvii. Celerity of the boats of the Nile ii. 156 to 158
mokhteri, quantity of presents made to this poet ii. 230
Books consulted in writing these Observations i. xiv to xxix. Form and materials of ancient ones iii. 105. Method used by the ancients to preserve their writings 109. See also *Inscriptions*.
Booths of the Arabs i. 276
Bosom, meaning of the word thus translated in a passage of scripture ii. 43
Bottles made of skins i. 256. Phrase of "a bottle in the smoke" 259. Meaning of words translated "bottle" in scripture ii. 59, 97. Pitched bottles in which the Persians carry their wine, &c. iv. 187
Bow, why ordered by David to be taught to the children of Israel iii. 117
Bow cases iv. 254
Bowls and dishes of the Arabs i. 255
Bracelets sometimes ensigns of royalty ii. 336. Probable meaning of the word translated "bracelet" in a passage of scripture iv. 325
Brass sometimes used in ornaments, in preference to silver iv. 262
Bread, what generally eaten with it to make it palatable i. 397. Curious method of baking it 401, 405. See also *Leaven*, *Seeds*, and *Vinegar*.
Breakfasts at Aleppo i. 370. Butter and honey used as a breakfast among the Arabs ii. 47

Bricks i. 307, 308. Brick kilns 310. Burnt brick used in building the tower of Babel 287
Bride's mark of respect to her bridegroom ii. 270
Broth presented by Gideon to the angel ii. 74
Buckets and lines for drawing water, carried by travellers ii. 149
Buildings, general accounts of i. 287. Materials used for them 307. See also *Bricks*, *Houses*, and *Mortar*.
murning the bones under the caldron i. 429
murying within the walls of cities, a token of respect iii. 51. Places chosen by the ancient and modern Arabs for interment 85. Ancient Egyptian manner of burial iv. 134
mutter, meaning of the phrase "when I washed my steps with" i. 420. Brought forth by Jael to Sisera 423. How offered with milk to strangers ii. 77, 78. See also *Breakfast*.

C.

Caffetan, a rich robe, presented to high officers, and with what views ii. 292, 293
Cakes, different sorts of, i. 403 to 409
Calendars, extracts from curious ones, showing the times when different fruits ripen i. 175
Calf, why killed by Abraham merely to give three strangers a short refreshment ii. 69. Its flesh considered a delicious and honorable dish 179
"*Calling* his neighbour," &c. meaning of this phrase ii. 27, 28
Camels trained to kneel, and why i. 291. Their common pace in travelling ii. 154. Weight of a camel load 237 n. They constitute a part of the riches of great men iv. 318. See also *Chains*.
Camel feast, account of a royal one i. 414
Camel's hair the dress of John the Baptist iv. 200, 319
Campaigns, time of the year in which they usually began iii. 362, 366
Canals in Egypt iv. 9
Candlestick in Belshazzar's feast i. 320, 321
Canopies used about beds iv. 138
Caoinan, or ancient funeral cry of the Irish iii. 38
Captive prince, manner of introducing one into the towns of a victorious kingdom iii. 345
Caravans, how pillaged by the Arabs i. 253. Composed of people of different nations ii. 159. Different kinds of vehicles used in them for persons of distinction, the sick, &c. 160. Manner observed by them in their journeys 205. They travel chiefly in the night 207. Fires lighted as a signal of their approach 211
Caravansaries ii. 194
Carpets, goatskins used for them by the poorer Arabs i. 236. Different kinds of carpeting 237. Ancient use of small ones,

or mats, in devotion ii. 373. Carpets used anciently iv. 119 Probably an article of ancient commerce 346
Castles, ancient, particulars concerning them, illustrating some passages of scripture i. 356
" *Caterpillars*," what insects probably meant by a word thus translated iii. 243
Cattle, immense flocks of the Turcomans i. 248. Sudden removes of those people injurious to the young of their flocks 253. The Arab women take care of the flocks 267
Caves frequent places of lodging for shepherds i. 230. Our Lord probably born in one 333. See also *Holes*, and *Rocks*.
Ceilings i. 314, 315
Chains on the necks of camels, &c. marks of distinction and grandeur ii. 338
Chardin, Sir John, some account of his manuscripts, and of the use made of them in writing these Observations i. xxvi to xxvii.
" *Chariot*," this word improperly used by our translators ii. 162. On what occasions chariots were used anciently 351
Charms against noxious animals iii. 304
Chasms, dangerous near Aleppo ii. 172. In the desert iv. 96
Cheese, account of the vats used for making it i. lvi. Different substances for coagulating the milk *ib.* Further account of the Eastern cheeses 425.
Children, manner of carrying them iv. 227. See also *Women*.
Chimneys, the houses at Jerusalem said to have none i. 346
Christians in Egypt obliged to alight when a Turk passes ii. 271
Churning, method of i. 419
Circumcision of children, presents to the parents usual at this ceremony ii. 232. Great rejoicings on occasion of the circumcision of a son of the basha of Egypt 315. Effects of this operation on adults iv. 327
Cisterns. See *Reservoirs*.
Citron, this fruit probably meant by the word translated "apple" in some passages of scripture ii. 125
Clapping each other's hands repeatedly, an Egyptian method of salutation ii. 249. Distinction between the actions of clapping the hands, and clapping the hand ; and their different intentions 249 to 251
Classics, specimen of illustrating them by books of travels i. 42 to 80
" *Clods* of the valley," illustration of this phrase iii. 86
" *Cloth*," meaning of the word thus translated in a passage of scripture ii. 382
Clothes laid to pledge by every altar iv. 117. See also *Dress*, *Precious*, and *Washing*.
Clouds, very small ones the forerunners of violent storms and hurricanes i. 119

"*Coats*," meaning of a word thus translated ii. 358
Coffins anciently used only for persons of distinction iii. 60
Colours, different terms used to express them in the original scriptures iv. 259 to 261
Commerce. See *Tyrus*.
Companies, ancient division of them into ten men each iii. 332
Complaints, peasants in Persia permitted to present them to the throne against their rulers iii. 282
Compliments, hyperbolical iii. 392
"*Condemned*, the," who probably meant by this phrase in a passage of scripture iv. 122
Condescension, remarkable, sometimes shown by nobles ii. 319
Conon the Athenian declines paying adoration to the king of Persia ii. 253
Copts, their manner of spending their leisure time i. 134. Of eating their victuals ii. 37
Corn, various preparations of it for food i. 440. Manner of preserving it 445, of sowing it 446. Repositories for it iv. 291. See also *Grinding*, *Reaping*, and *Seeds*.
Corner, sitting in, a token of superiority ii. 274
Coronet, curious appendages to one of a Mohammedan chief ii. 340 n.
Courts, manner of eating at ii. 85
Covering, illustration of this word as used in a passage of scripture ii. 366
Cowdung much used as fuel i. 432
Crackling of thorns under a pot, a simile of this illustrated i. 433
Cracknells, meaning of the word so translated i. 408
Cracks in the ground before the autumnal rains iii. 201
Crane, what bird probably meant by the word thus translated iv. 167. Migration of the crane iii. 268
Criminals not permitted to look on the person of the king ii. 300
Crocodile, method of catching it iii. 406. Princes compared to crocodiles in certain cases iv. 352. See also 55, &c. concerning this animal.
Crucifixion, time of its beginning i. 376
Cruse, this word carelessly used by our translators ii. 98
Cups, pretended divination by them iv. 310
Curfew, some custom of this sort probably practised in Judea i. 335
Curtains of Solomon, whether this means tents i. 264
Cushion, seating a person on one, a token of respect ii. 273
Cutting the arms for purposes of love and devotion iv. 341

D.

Dagon, structure of his temple i. 284
Daily bread, meaning of this phrase in the Lord's prayer ii. 182, 183

Dancing, whether practised anciently in the vintages iii. 221 to 224. Dancing and music used in doing persons honor ii. 323. Some account of the ancient dances 325. See also *Shiloh.*
Daniel, cause of his absence when Belshazzar saw the writing iii. 74
Date trees of Egypt iv. 12
David concealed from Saul in a wood i. 234. Time of the year at which he fled from Absalom 380, 382
Day of cold, meaning of this expression i. 366 to 368
Dead, different methods of doing honor to them iii. 9 to 103
Dead body, ancient manner in which it was prepared for interment i. xliii. Dead bodies ornamented iii. 10. Barbarous customs used by victors against the dead bodies of their enemies 374
Declare, meaning of the word translated thus in a passage of scripture iii. 352 to 355
Decrees, mode of drawing them up iii. 394
Degrees, song of, probable meaning of this title as applied to some of the Psalms ii. 209 n.
Delicacies, different kinds of ii. 61
Dervishes and fakeers, manner in which they are clothed iv. 335
Desert, road through, from Egypt to Judea iv. 21. Its state when Israel passed through it 88. Its present state 99, 100. Rain sometimes falls in that part on the east of the Red Sea 115. See also *Birds*, *Quadrupeds*, and *Wilderness.*
Desolation made by a pestilence, described by a Persian poet iii. 127
Diet of the inhabitants of the East i. 370 to end: ii. 9 to 139
Diff, a musical instrument used at Aleppo ii. 136 to 140
Dinah, the scriptural account of her defended against the objections of Voltaire iv. 208
Dinner hour in the East i. 372
Discourses, tales, &c. in the ancient public assemblies iii. 169
Dishes, different kinds of highly seasoned i. 385
Dismounting, a token of respect ii. 270
Dogs supported by public charity i. 351
Dove houses i. 352. See also *Pigeons.*
Doves and smoky places, this connection illustrated i. 226. Israel compared to a dove 227. Colour of the doves of Palestine 228. Consecrated doves 230. See also *Turtle doves.*
Dove's dung, remarks on it as mentioned in scripture ii. 13
Dress, changing that of a person a token of honor ii. 292. Presents of dress in Persia and India are only from superiors to inferiors 295: in Egypt however, and the Holy Land, often made even to the great 295, 238. Party coloured garments esteemed a mark of honor 296. Sometimes a prince gives his own garment as a token of the highest respect 298. Garments often changed, in mark of respect *ib.* New clothes

used in times of rejoicing 314. The dress of brides frequently changed during the marriage solemnity 317. Rich dresses and costly furs used in doing honor to persons of distinction 349. Different articles of dress used among the ancients 355, 361. See also *Females*, and *Warriors*.
Dried meat much used in the East i. 378
Drink at meals ii. 100. Water the principal beverage 101. Refreshing liquors 115, 116 notes. Giving a person drink, the strongest assurance that can be afforded of receiving him into protection iv. 304
Drinking vessels often made of gold ii. 107. Horns also used 108
Dromedaries, their swiftness ii. 155
Drought sometimes excessive i. 157 to 161
Drunken fits of devotion ii. 111
Dung. See *Cow dung*, and *Dove's dung*.
"*Dunghills*," phrases of taking refuge in them, and of lifting up the beggar from i. 432
Dust very injurious iii. 348
"*Dwelling deep*," meaning of this phrase i. 210, 212

E.

Eagle which appeared, according to Suetonius, in the army of the emperor Vitellius i. lxxiii.
Eagles fond of cedars iv. 291
Ear rings mentioned in scripture iv. 247
Earth, the two mules' burthen which Naaman requested from the prophet Elijah iv. 322
Eating, manner of the Copts in ii. 37. Strange method among the Arabs 43. Manner of eating at courts 85. Women and men do not eat together in the East 88. The Eastern people begin to eat very early in the morning 89. See also *Meals*.
Eggs a delicacy ii. 62
Egmont's and Heyman's Travels, some remarks concerning that work i. xix.
Egypt, explanation of some passages in the sacred and profane writers concerning the weather in this country i. 162, 163. Its boundaries iii. 399
Egyptians, their strong attachment to their own land iv. 87
Elijah, suspension of rain in his time i. 164. His running before Ahab's chariot ii. 312
Emirs, Arab, strength of the clans belonging to them i. 244
Embalming, in what degree applied to the body of our Lord iii. 62
Encampments, nature of them iii. 329
Enclosures about gardens and vineyards ii 166, 169. Some of walls of loose stones iii. 180. See also *Hedges*.
Engines. See *Water engines*.

Entertainments made in the open air ii. 21. In these out of door entertainments any passenger is invited to partake 27
Ephraim, wood of, its destroying more men than a battle iii. 298
Esau, his profaneness shown in a very strong view iii. 77
Escape of Israel from Pharaoh, simile on this subject i. 221
Eunuchs attendant on the great ii. 363
Euphrates, remarks on this river iii. 297
"*Everlasting Father*," consideration of this title as applied to our Lord iv. 312. See also 166
Excursions of pleasure ii. 24
Executions, prompt and arbitrary ones frequent iii. 285. Public ones without the walls of cities, iv. 184
Expeditions of petty princes iii. 396
Extermination of ancient royal families iii. 288
Eyes, practice of tinging them iv. 257. See also *Sealing*.
Ezekiel, circumstances of his flight considered ii. 150

F.

Fakeers. See *Dervishes*.
Families, whole, their own often carried with them by the Eastern people on going to war iii. 377
Famine in the days of Ahab i. 161
Father and *Mother*; these terms applied to things animate and inanimate iv. 166
"*Fatted fowl*," this phrase not well understood ii. 80
Feast of lights among the Jews i. lxiv to lxx.
Feast of tabernacles, origin of the custom of pouring out water at this celebration i. 106
Feast of tulips, i. lxx.
Feathers used as ornaments ii. 341
Feet frequently washed iv. 236. Those of state criminals cut off iii. 381. See also *Head*.
Females, great costliness of their dress iv. 237. Female ornaments mentioned by Isaiah 240 to 246
Fences. See *Enclosures*.
Fertility of Judea iii. 189
Figs, method of preserving them i. 447
Figures and metaphors, strong, used by the Eastern writers iii. 123, 125, 126
Fires, time of lighting and of discontinuing them i. 136. Continued very late in the spring, and with reason 139. Made in fields to burn up the dry herbage, and much mischief often done by these iii. 309
Fireplaces i. 346 to 349
Fish, meaning of a word thus translated in a passage of scripture ii. 28. Fish found in the Mediterranean, the sea of Galilee, and the Nile iii. 195: in the Red Sea, and great dexterity of the Arabs in fishing iv. 103: in Egypt 38. Times in which the Egyptians live wholly on fish 41. Man-

ner of catching fish in Egypt 42. Consecrated fishes i. 226. See also *Mediterranean.*

Fishermen frequently land to dress and eat their fish on the sea shore ii. 28.

Fives, by, meaning of this phrase as applied to the manner in which the Israelites marched out of Egypt ii. 203

Flax, peculiar excellence of the Egyptian iv. 75, 81

Flesh meat sparingly used i. 384

Flies, small ones very troublesome, and often destructive, in Judea iii. 249

Floats used on the Nile i. lxx.

Flocks, patriarchal manner of feeding them i. 231. See also *Sheep.*

Flowers frequent in entertainments ii. 16. Often given, and odoriferous herbs, as a token of friendship 239

Food, different articles of i. 378. Particular kinds used by mourners iii. 76.

Fountains numerous i. 390. Tents usually pitched near them iii. 307. Great necessity of fountains and reservoirs of water 309. Are the lurking places of robbers and assassins 313

Fowling in the Holy Land iv. 282

Fowls supplied by the people for the tables of their great men ii. 81

Fruit, times when different kinds ripen, i. 175. Obliged to be gathered before it is ripe 204. What sort presented by Ziba to David ii. 130

Fruits, this word improperly used in a passage of our translation iv. 279

Fuel, different sorts of i. 428. Method of saving it 438. The want of it often a great inconvenience in travelling ii. 218

Funeral feasts iii. 22

Funeral rites of the Jews in Barbary iii. 14

Fur garments frequently used in Judea on account of the cold i. 137. Costly furs used in doing honor to persons of distinction ii. 349

Furnishing the table, meaning of this phrase ii. 21

G.

Game, different kinds esteemed delicacies ii. 65. Eaten by the Israelites 78. Delicacy of the different sorts in Egypt iv. 50

Gamelle, explanation of this French word i. 254 n.

Gammadim, conjectures who these were iv. 344

Gardens not remarkably well stored with fruit trees iii. 209. Necessity of water in them iv. 277. See also *Enclosures.*

Garlick, what probably meant by the word thus translated in a passage of scripture iv. 46

Garments. See *Blue*, and *Dress.*

Garnishing the tombs of the righteous, meaning of this phrase iii. 80 to 83

Gates, methods of securing them i. 339. Custom of kings and magistrates sitting in the gates of cities 356. Great gate of buildings used only on first occupying them ii. 364. For what purposes gates of cities were used as public places iv. 456
Gaza, description of its environs iii. 357, 358
Genealogical tables iv. 311
Geon, what river meant by this name iii. 422, 423
Gesta Dei per Francos, some account of that work i. lxvii.
Gibeonites, in what the bitterness of their doom consisted iv. 230
Gideon, his test of his army by water ii. 45. Manner in which he entertained the angel 75. His defeat of the Midianites, iii. 334. Stratagem very much like his 397
Girding the loins, meaning of this phrase ii. 164
Girdles, red ones supposed to have been a mark of dignity anciently ii. 351. Different sorts of girdles 389
Goads, large ones used by the drivers of cattle iii. 279
Goatskins used for carpets by the poorer Arabs i. 236
Goats, Horace's opinion of the excellence of the flesh of those which were fed on vines i. lxi. Different kinds in Judea iii. 251
Gold plate of the kings of Persia and of Solomon ii. 107
"*Golden*" remarks on this title as applied to some of the Psalms, iii. 120, 121
Goliah, covering in which his sword was wrapped when laid up ii. 382
Grapes, time of their ripening i. 177. Treading them 419. Accident from swallowing one iii. 229. Those of Egypt and Canaan iv. 14. See also *Vine*.
"*Grasshopper*," what insect meant by a word thus translated iii. 153 to 156
Graves, frequent visits paid to those of relations iii. 23. Songs and music used daily at them in commemoration of the dead 83. Boughs, flowers, and herbs, used in ornamenting them 89 Provisions placed near to or on those of relatives 93. See also *Sepulchres*.
Greasy water mentioned by Horace i. lxii.
"*Green*," meaning of this epithet in some passages of scripture iii. 274, 275
Grinding corn, manner and time of doing this i. 415
Grottoes or caves much used, i. 332
Guides necessary in travelling through the deserts ii. 217

H.

Hafez quoted ii. 17 n 213 n. iii. 133 n. iv. 126 n.
Hail and rain, dreadful iii. 367. Egyptian plague of hail 435
Hair, cutting it off in honor of the dead iii. 12. Plaiting it

iv 238. Women fond of long hair; weight of Absalom's 251
Haman, why his face was covered ii. 300
Hammers, some ensign of dignity among the ancient Persians ii. 355 to 360
Hand, kissing it, and putting it on the head, tokens of respect ii. 261, 269. Giving the hand to a person, a token of subjection 365. Ancient practice of stretching out the hand in prayer 378. Hands of state criminals cut off iii. 381. See also *Clapping*, *Kissing*, and *Thigh*.
Hand mills used for grinding corn i. 415
Handkerchiefs, those used in the East iv. 249
Hangings, different kinds used in houses i. 317
Hanun, indignity offered by him to David's ambassadors ii. 268
Harams, the luxury of them very oppressive to the people iii. 277
Hare, and rabbit, what animals probably meant by the words translated thus in the prohibitory law iii. 254
Harmer, Mr. character and account of him i. 35 to 41
Harvest, time of it, and necessity of the latter rains to bring it to maturity i. 154. Practice of robbing the harvest 202. Double in Egypt iv. 16: its time there 17.
Hat, meaning of a word thus translated ii. 360
Hay, rarely made iv. 302
Head and feet bare, a mode of honoring the dead iii. 16. The head sometimes shaved on the same account 19. Heads of enemies cut off to serve for a triumph 379. Head, hands, and feet, of state criminals cut off 381
Heat excessive in some parts of the Holy Land i. 99. Hot days often succeeded by very cold nights 142, 169. Heat excessive in harvest in Egypt iv. 18
Hedge of thorns, this phrase illustrated ii. 166
Hedges, phrase of "running to and fro by them," ii. 174. Hedges of thorns iii. 179: of fig trees 181
Herbs, sorts presented to travellers ii. 177, 178. Different kinds used for food in Egypt iv. 44. See also *Flowers*.
Herod, splendour in which he sat when struck with death iii. 162. State in which his body was carried out to burial 165
Herodotus, a remarkable passage in his history quoted i. 89. Ditto in his *Erato* i. xciii. Ditto in his *Euterpe* i. xciv.
Hezekiah's proposal on Sennacherib's approach to Jerusalem iii. 310
Hiding the hand in the dish, this phrase explained ii. 44
Hills resorted to in preference to valleys i. 218
Hippopotamus. See *Behemoth*.
Hobab, probable reasons why Moses begged him not to leave Israel ii. 217 to 219
Holes and caves in rocks, frequent places of lodging both for doves and fishermen i. 226
Homer quoted, and illustrated, (Iliad i. 465) ii. 176: (Il. ii. 126)

iii. 333, (Il. xxii) i. xlviii, (Il. xxiii) iv. 222 : (Il. xxiii. 243, &c.) i. xlvii, (Il. xxiv,) i. xlix : (Odyss. xix. 63, 64,) i. 349 n.
Honey, not wholesome to Europeans in the East ii. 52. Its flavour peculiarly excellent when just expressed from the comb 53. Different kinds meant in scripture 54 : honey of grapes 55 : of the palm tree or of dates 57, 60 : of reeds, or sugar, 58. See also *Bees*, and *Breakfast*.
Honeycomb, probable meaning of the word thus translated in a passage of scripture ii. 59. See also 61
Honeypots ii. 60
Honoring the living and the dead, modes of ii. 224 to iii. 93
Horace quoted, and illustrated, (Carm. lib. 1. od. 21) iii. 152 : (lib. 2. od. 7. ver. 22, 23) iv. 189 : (lib. 2. od. 18. ver. 1 to 5) i. 312 : lib. 4. od. 7) iii. 152 : (Epist. lib. 2. epist. 2.) i. lxxii : (Sat. lib. 1. sat. 3) i. xci : (Sat. lib. 1. sat. 5. ver. 23 to 25) i. 376, n. : (lib. 1. sat. 5. ver. 34, 36) ii. 292 n. : (lib. 2. sat. 2. ver. 68, 69) i. lxii : (lib. 2. sat. 4. ver. 43) i. lxi.
Horn of the son of oil, meaning of this phrase iii. 188
Horns used as drinking vessels ii. 110. Blown, on receiving a gift, in honor of the donor 212 n.
Horseback, riding on, the privilege only of highly favoured persons ii. 305
Horses, swiftness of the Arabian i. 219. Commonly presented to grandees ii. 242. Excellence of the Egyptian iv. 74.
Hosen, meaning of a word thus translated in a passage of scripture ii. 355
Hospitality of the Arabs in their villages and to travellers ii. 70. 173
House of dust, what probably meant by this phrase iii. 348, 350
Houses of gold, ivory, &c. meaning of these phrases i. 189
Houses, what meant in scripture by great ones i. 286
Houses, Arabs ride into them in order to rob them i. 207. Those of stone and mud 285. Some built partly of stone, and partly of earth and straw 287. Narrowness of the doors of the enclosures round them 291. A number of families live in the same house 302. The upper rooms the most splendid *ib.* Methods of adorning houses 311. Winter and summer houses 365
Houssain, lamentations for him iii. 41, 44
Hunger, its effects on the colour of the body iv. 177
Hunting, an Arabian method of ii. 79. In the Holy Land iv. 281
Huts and booths of the Arabs i. 276
Huzzab, a passage concerning her explained ii. 307

I.

Idolaters often cut themselves in their acts of worship iv. 158

Idols, red painted ones used by the ancient heathens iv. 129
Illuminations, splendid, among the Jews and Persians on some occasions i. lxvi. to lxx. Those made on the Nile iii. 442
Inferences, general, from Mr. Harmer's Observations iv. 461
Inns, public ii. 194
Inscriptions, seals, &c. of letters and books iii. 113
Insects, different kinds of destructive ones in Judea, iii. 243
Inundations, violent ones frequent i 147
Invitation to an entertainment, singular kind of ii. 20
Irish cry, what. See *Caoinan* iii. 38
Ishmael, the angel's prediction concerning him i. 210, 211. His exposure iv. 24
Ishmaelites. See *Midianites*.
Ivory houses, meaning of this phrase i. 366

J.

Jackalls, their depredations in vineyards ii. 171
Jacob's present of sheep to Esau, i. 184. His sitting at a solemn feast on a heap of stones ii. 35
Jacoub ben Laith, anecdote of iv. 180
Jackson's, Mr. journey overland from India, quoted i. 167, 280
Jael, her treachery iv. 304
Jars, earthen, sometimes used by travellers for carrying water ii. 202
Jaws. See *Muffling*.
Jephthah's daughter mourned for iii. 46, 47, 84
Jeroboam's queen, her present to the prophet Ahijah ii. 227
Jerom, St. his neglect of observation on the Eastern customs i. xxiv. illustrated *ib.* 34. ii. 225. His description of the Holy Land reconciled with other accounts i. 151 to 153. Quotation from him 405. Phrases used by him explained ii. 116.
Jerusalem, why called Ariel the lion of God i. 343. Manner in which the numbers assembling there yearly might be accommodated 345. The houses there said to have no chimnies 346 to 348. Its siege in 1099 iii. 310
Joab, David's complaint of him ii. 351
John, St. his throwing himself at the feet of the angel not an idolatrous prostration ii. 354
John the Baptist, his diet and clothing ii. 49 to 51 ; iv. 200, 319
Jonadab his injunction i. 199
Jordan, division of its waters in the days of Joshua iii. 298
Joseph, his entertainment to his brethren ii. 83. A lively comment on his history is afforded by that of Ali Bey 384. Explanation of a simile concerning him iii. 225, 226
Josephus quoted i. xxxix, lxxvi.
Joshua, book of, remarkable addition at its end in the Septuagint version iv. 208

Journies, particular times observed for beginning them iv. 340
Joy, different methods of expressing it ii. 328. Female mode 320
Judea, observations relating to its natural, civil, and military state iii. 174 to 398
Juniper, whether its roots are eaten i. 394, 395. Shade of the tree said to be unhealthy iv. 269
Justice ill administered in the East iii. 282
Juvenal (Sat. lib. 1. sat. 3, i. cviii. Sat. 15. ver. 126 to 128) illustrated i. lxx. Quoted (sat. 14) ii. 246 n.

K.

Kid esteemed a great delicacy ii. 68, iii. 252
Kidron, remarks on this brook iii. 175
Kissing, a civility offered by the Eastern Jewish women to strangers ii. 193, 194. Kissing the hand, foot, hem of the garment, and the earth, methods of salutation 250, 251, 258. Kissing what is presented, a token of respect to superiors 262. Illustration of two passages of scripture in which the verb to kiss is used 263. Intimate acquaintance kiss each other's hands, head, or shoulders 266. Kissing the beard a token of respect 266. See also *Hand*.
Kneading troughs, remarks on those said to have been used by the Israelites on their leaving Egypt iv. 288
Koran, remarkable quotation from i. 292. Honors conferred on those who have got it by heart ii. 307. Great sanctity of among the Mohammedans iii. 116
Kumrah, an animal begotten by an ass upon a cow ii. 160 n.

L.

Ladies of Israel compared to fatted kine iii. 277
Lamb, shoulder of, esteemed a delicacy ii. 66. Fat lambs too accounted so 68
Lamentations, noisy, at the death of a person iii. 20. Those for Houssain 41, 44. Ditto among the ancient and modern Irish. See *Caionan* iii. 38
Lamps and lanterns used in the East iv. 274
Lapping, a way of drinking in use ii. 44
Lapwing. See *Upupa*.
Leaven, sort used i. 418
Lebanon, superior excellence of its wine iii. 231. Exposition of a simile concerning this mountain 234
Leeks, probable meaning of a word thus translated iv. 47
Lemon juice used as a drink ii. 123
Letters sent to superiors are made up in a peculiar and costly style ii. 334. See also *Inscriptions*.
Leviathan, this animal is the crocodile iv. 35, 60
Libanus, mount, cold winds and abundance of snow on it in the spring i. 187

Libations of wine still made ii. 120
Lice, probable meaning of the word thus translated in describing the third plague of Egypt iii. 416
Lightning and thunder happen in the winter in the Holy Land i. 100. Frequent lightnings in autumn 174
Lightning, probable meaning of the word thus translated in a passage of scripture iv. 157
Lights different sorts used, and method of illuminating houses i. 334. Used in a very particular manner in marriage festivities ii. 89. Sort used for travelling by night 211. Numerous lights, curiously disposed, used in doing persons honor 337. See also *Wooden*.
Lilies of the field, our Lord's words concerning them i. 436
Linen, fine, of Egypt iv. 76. Different kinds of linen manufactured there 78
Literature, &c. of the Eastern nations iii. 103 to 174
Locks and keys made of wood i. 339
Locusts, time when they appear i. 367. Frequently used as food ii. 50. Destruction occasioned by flights of them iii. 156, 245
Lodge in a garden, this phrase illustrated ii. 167
Lord's Prayer, meaning of a phrase in it ii. 175
Luxury. See *Harams*.

M.

Mafrouca of the Arabs i. 399
Magi, their present to our Lord ii. 239
Mahanaim, David's sitting in the entrance of i. 359. His reception there, 382. Presents made to him there ii. 231, 235
Majilis, explanation of this word ii. 85 n.
Mallows, whether eaten i. 393, 394
Mangers, none used in the East; substitutes for them ii. 158. What meant then by the phrase translated that our Lord was laid in one as soon as born 159 n.
Manuscripts highly ornamented among the Asiatics ii. 120
Marble, polished, at what time it began to be used in building and sculpture i. 314 to 317
Mares ridden by the Arabs in preference to horses iii. 368 n.
Maroth, what place probably meant by this name iii. 359 to 361
Marriage, festivities at ii. 89. Expensive presents usual on this occasion 236. The dress of brides often changed during the solemnity 317. Description of a Maronite wedding 326. Singular custom respecting marriages iv. 316
Mats used at meals instead of tables ii. 91. See also *Carpets*.
Meal times i. 372
Meals, different methods of serving up food at ii. 82. See also *Drink*, *Eating*, and *Wine*.
Meat, very little eaten ii. 77

Meat offerings, different ways of preparing them i. 387
Mecca, manner in which the multitudes of pilgrims are accommodated there i. 345
Medal struck by Vespasian on the subjugation of the Jews ii. 303 n.
Medicines, some used externally iv. 312
Mediterranean well stored with fish of different kinds iii. 274. See also *Fish*.
Melons. See *Watermelons*.
Memorials of the dead iv. 221
Metals, some factitious ones of great value iv. 321
Metaphors. See *Figures*.
Mice have sometimes been extremely troublesome and destructive iii. 302
Midianites or Ishmaelites to whom Joseph was sold ii. 160: iv. 225, 226
Migration of different kinds of birds iii. 261
Milk a general diet i. 345. See also *Butter*.
Millet, culture of this grain iii. 203
Milton quoted ii. 61
Mingling of wine, meaning of this phrase ii. 111, 112
Mirrors, Eastern, iv. 261
Misnah, some passages of it illustrated i. 436
Mock fights practised in the ancient Egyptian water pilgrimages iv. 126, 127
Money counted and sealed up in bags or purses of various amount iii. 391, 392
Mordecai, the method of doing him honor ii. 304
Mortar, sort used for building i. 309. What kind used in the tower of Babel 361
Mosaic pavement at Præneste engraving and description of iv. 55
Mother. See *Father*.
Mountains resorted to as places of refuge in war iii. 328
Mourning, music joined with it iii. 9, 14 and n. Mourners at funerals 21. Mourners anciently not only laid aside their ornaments, but put off their outer garments iv. 136. Strange custom in mourning for the dead 325. See also *Lamentations*.
Mowings, king's, meaning of this phrase iv. 302
MS. C. and MSS. C., explanation of these references i. xxvii.
Mud buildings, effects of violent rains on them i. 168
Muffling up the jaws, a Jewish rite of mourning iii. 14
Mulberry trees mentioned in scripture iii. 196
Mules, their first propagation ii. 160 n.
Murbania, a season at Aleppo i. 141
Murrine cups, inquiries concerning those used by the ancients i. lvii
Music used in feasts, particularly of the tabret or timbrel ii. 121. Different kinds of instruments 136. Field and house music

at Aleppo 139. Music used in mourning iii. 1, 24, and note. Used more frequently, and on more ordinary occasions, in the East, than in other countries iv. 154. See also *Dancing Graves*, and *Singing*.
Mutes of the seraglio ii. 319

N.

Nabal's sheep shearing i. 183, 240. David's message to him 224
Nadir Shah, honors paid to him ii. 312
Nails, method of fastening them in mud and brick walls i. 311
Nails of the fingers, method of staining and ornamenting them iv. 84
Names, peculiarly significant ones given to women iv. 164. See also *Sirnames*.
Nebel, an ancient Jewish instrument of music ii. 137
Nebuchadnezzar, his prostration before Daniel not idolatrous ii. 283
Nehemiah, splendour in which he lived ii. 103, 111
New year's day, a very solemn civil festival among the Persians i. lxvi.
Nile, excellence of its waters iii. 427. Miracle wrought by Moses and Aaron upon them 429 to 436. Abundance of fish in this river iv. 38, 39. See also *Bathing*, and *Illuminations*.
Nineveh. See *Babylon*.
Noise and tumult frequent at the death of a person iii. 13
Nose jewels worn by women, iv. 244
Nuncio, pope's, honors paid to him ii. 312.

O.

Oath, ancient and modern manner of taking one iv. 190
Offerings to God, manner of presenting them at Jerusalem iv. 111
Oil, bread commonly dipped in it i. 399. Poured on the meat offering 400. Sort generally used for lights 336. Burnt in Egypt in honor of the dead and of idols iii. 418. Meaning of the phrase green oil in a passage of scripture 199, 200
Oil jars frequently buried in the ground, the better to preserve their contents iii. 212
Old age, Solomon's portrait of iii. 131 to 134
Olive groves places of general resort for birds iii 273
Olive tree, its condition in the Promised Land iii. 198. Time when it blossoms ; and of its blossoms failing 213. Of this tree and its produce in Egypt iv. 53
Olive wood particularly used for adorning apartments i. 314 n.
Olives, operation of treading them i. 420. Ancient method of gathering them iii. 210. See also *Vintage*.
Onions a favourite food in Egypt iv. 49
Ornaments. See *Females*, and *Rebecca*.

Ostriches, and their eggs good for food iv. 32, 33
Outcasts in Syria iv. 223
Ovid, Fasti, quoted iv. 168
Oxen employed in carrying burthens on their backs iv. 301

P.

Packages, manner in which travellers make up theirs ii. 148
Palm tree, dwelling under it i. 270, 271 n.
Palmyra and Balbec, ancient power and influence of these cities iii. 294. Some particulars of the former 295
Panegyris, a Greek solemnity ii. 22
Papyrus, an ancient material of books iii. 105
Parched corn, sort of food meant by this phrase i. 441 to 445
Parrots. See *Peacocks*.
Partridges, methods of catching them ii. 65
Parturition, the Eastern women suffer little in iv. 332
Passover, estimate of the numbers who celebrated it in one year at Jerusalem i. 346 n. Some particulars of the first explained ii. 165
Pastegues. See *Watermelons*.
Patroclus, the double anointing of his bones i. xliv.
Pavements, i. 314 to 317. See also *Mosaic*.
Pavilion, meaning of the word thus translated i. 192
Peacocks, whether these birds or parrots imported by Solomon iv. 263
Pecuniary rewards tokens of honor ii. 384
Perfumes applied to the bones of the dead among the Jews i. xlii. Burnt at feasts ii. 18. Different kinds used at the close of friendly visits 281. Burnt in honor of the dead at their graves iii. 68
Persian writers quoted iii. 127, 128. See also the respective names.
Persians, great festivals among them anciently i. lxvii.
Persius. illustration of a passage (Sat. v. 179 to 184) i. lxiv.
Pestilence in Egypt, its cause iii. 411. See also *Winds*.
Peter, St. his reception by Cornelius ii. 253
Petitions, mode of sending them to princes iv. 296
Philistines, their burning the spouse of Samson and her father iii. 281
Physicians and astrologers of a Persian prince driven from court at his death iii. 75
Pietro della Valle's account of his lodging in the woods i. 232
Pigeon houses very numerous in Egypt iv. 52
Pigeons, their manners and habits i. 352. See also *Doves*, and *Dove houses*.
Pilgrims to Mecca sometimes attacked by the Bedouins iv. 113, 114
Pillars, particulars of the ancient ones i. 326

Pillow, probable meaning of a word thus translated in a passage of scripture iv. 139
Pipe, its sound not essentially melancholy iii. 26 n.
Pistachio nuts, superior excellence of those of Syria ii. 130
Pit, illustration of the use of this word in the Proverbs ii. 173
Pitcher, this word improperly used by our translators ii. 98. Pitchers of stone used as ovens i. 401 to 406. Ancient pitchers for fetching water iv. 194
Pitching time of the day for travellers ii. 188
Places which had been used for religious purposes, method of dishonoring them iv. 324
Plague, third, of Egypt explained iii. 416. The plague of hail 435
Plantations of trees about houses i. 353. Open plantations of esculent vegetables in deserts ii. 168. Cutting down valuable plantations, a method used to distress an enemy iii. 316
Plautus, criticism on a remarkable passage in his *Rudens* i. liii. See also lxiv.
Pliny, his opinion concerning the murrine cups i. lvii. His account of the weather in Egypt considered 162. Quoted (Hist. Nat. lib. 36. c. 25) iv. 57. (lib. 8. c. 18) 62 n.
Ploughing and sowing, time of in Barbary and Judea i. 117
Plutarch quoted ii. 28
Pollutions practised among the heathens in their religious transactions iv. 123
Pomegranate, juice, or wine, much used as a drink now and anciently ii. 115
Poor sometimes admitted to the tables of nobles ii. 320
Pope, Mr. remark on a note in his translation of the Iliad iii. 32
Porcelain probably an ancient manufacture among the Persians or Parthians i. lviii. lxvii.
Porches or gate ways for sitting and transacting business in i. 135, 136
Porter, meaning of a word thus translated ii. 361
Posts, meaning of this word in a passage of scripture ii. 381
Posture of devotion sometimes used iv. 333. Different postures indicating respect ii. 202
Pottage, sort generally used ii. 76. 77
Potted flesh used by travellers ii. 63. Methods of making this preparation 64
Prænestine pavement. See *Mosaic*.
Prayer, ancient practice of stretching out the hand in ii. 378. Particular places used for prayer previous to battle iii. 375. See also *Lord's prayer*.
Precious clothes for chariots, probable meaning of this phrase iv. 348
Presents universally made to the great ii. 187, 224. Particular kinds offered to superiors 227, 231. Sometimes, but very

rarely, declined 232. Presents of meat and drink made to great men 233. Presents, even to private persons, frequently very expensive 235. Often regarded as a tribute 237. At times, of very trifling value 239 : but, unless considerable, occasionally rejected 240. When an inferior is visited by a superior, the former makes him a present at his departure 243. Presents sometimes made to princes, to engage them to lend their assistance in time of war 244. Further account of articles presented to the great 296. Universal custom of making presents, prevalent formerly in the British islands 390. Giving and receiving presents, pledges of mutual friendship 395 : essentially necessary also to civil intercourse 393. Presents made by David to the people on his bringing home the ark iv. 143. Presents interchanged among royal personages 151. Great men often take from their officers those gifts which the latter receive from the bounty of others 152. See also *Dress*, *Flowers*, and *Horses*.

Priam's sleeping in the porch of the tent for concealment i. xlv.

Priests. See *Prophets*.

Princes often compared to lions, crocodiles, &c. iv. 352. See also *Captive*.

Princess, method of honoring an Arabian one ii. 310

Prisons, account of iii. 382

Procession, solemn, of the Mohammedans at Sidon to obtain rain i. 157. That of Mordecai illustrated ii. 304. Of prophets 308. Processions in honor of the dead iii. 23 to 31, 33. River processions of the ancient Egyptians 420, 421

Propertius, examination of some lines of i. lvii. Quoted (lib. 4. el. 7. verse 31, &c.) iv. 188

Prophetesses, passage of Ezekiel concerning false ones ii. 301 to 303

Prophets, the ancient, a possible prejudice against them obviated ii. 224, 230. Ancient prophets and priests lived wholly secluded from secular life iv. 160

Prostration and kissing the feet sometimes practised as a salutation ii. 258. Prostration at the threshold a mode of honoring persons 379. See also *Nebuchadnezzar*.

Provender, sorts of ii. 144 to 147

Provisions sent from the tables of princes to the poor and others ii. 87. Large supply of cattle at the tables of princes 102. The Arabs compelled to furnish provisions for some travellers 175, 183

Psalms, remarks on their titles iii. 117 to 121. See also *Degrees*.

Puritan author, instance of ignorance in one ii. 72

Purse of money, its usual value iii. 391 n.

Purses not an appendage to the girdle, but a part of the girdle itself i. lxiii.

Q.

Quadrupeds, some peculiar ones mentioned in scripture iii. 254. Those that inhabited the deserts through which Israel passed on their journey to the Promised Land iv. 27

Quails, whether these birds or locusts were sent to the Israelites in the Wilderness iv. 282

R.

Rabbah, in what sense to be a stable for camels i. 197

Rabbit. See *Hare*.

Rachel, possible reason of her being so named iv. 166

Rahab not a prostitute i. 304 n.

Rain, its regular periods i. 102. Contradictory accounts of the rain in Judea explained 103, 104. Time of the first rains there 106. Thunder showers there 112. Inconvenience of the autumnal rains to travellers 120: time of their beginning 121. Quantity of rain in winter 124. Distinction and time of the early and the latter rains 149. Necessity of the latter rains, to bring the harvest to maturity 154. Late spring rains occasionally of great benefit 156, 160. Solemn procession of the Mohammedans at Sidon to obtain rain 157. Some remarkable droughts considered 159. Rain often preceded by whirlwinds 164. Generally falls in the night 167. Effects of violent rains on the mud buildings 168. The first or early rains fall at different times in different parts 178. Copious falls of rain considered as extraordinary blessings iv. 175. See also *Hail*, and *Inundations*.

Ramoth Gilead, conjectures concerning this ancient Jewish tower i. 362, 363

Rauwolff, some account of the work of this traveller i. 17

Reaping, manner of iv. 299

Rebecca, ornaments put on her by Abraham's servant iv. 330

Rechabites, their manners i. 198

Red Sea, importance of having settlements near iii. 320. Its dangerous navigation iv. 107

Redness of eyes, probable meaning of the phrase thus translated as applied to Judah, iv. 257 to 260

Rending, time of, explained ii. 315, 316

Resentment, method of expressing iv. 323

Reservoirs. See *Fountains* and *Wells*.

Rice, method of cultivating it in different parts of the East Indies ii. 38. Methods of preparing it for food iii. 178. Processes of sowing, watering, reaping, and threshing it, in Egypt iv. 141

Rising early i. 372, 374

Roads have few mounds or enclosures ii. 165. See also *Desert*.

Roasted meat a delicacy among the Arabs ii. 73

Roasting meat, method of ii. 71
Rock altars in the Holy Land iv. 213
Rocks, hollow, and caves, places of defence iii. 305
Roebuck, what animal meant by the word thus translated iv. 28
Roofs, some made of rushes i. liii.
Rose leaves probably strewed in the procession that almost immediately preceded our Lord's death i. 147
Rose water profusely used ii. 287 n.
Roses of Jericho iii. 182
Ruins, uses to which ancient ones are converted i. 330. Frequented by different kinds of vermin iv. 294. See also *Babylon*, and *Stone*.

S.

Sabbath, manner in which it is honored among the modern Greeks ii. 376
Sackcloth, use of it anciently in devotion ii. 373
Sacks, two different sorts used by travellers in making up their packages ii. 148
Sacrifices, how the flesh of them was disposed of i. 387
Saddle, this word improperly used by our translators in a passage of scripture ii. 163
Sady, the Persian poet, quoted i. 331 n. ii. 89 n.
Sails of mat iv. 77 n.
Saladin's army, its distressed flight iii. 368
Salutation, various kinds of ii. 245, 250, 255. Both by attitude and expression 256. Sometimes the inferior mentions himself before the person he intends to honor 257
Samaritan, the good, remark on the parable of ii. 196
Samaritan woman, remark on a word in the account of our Lord's meeting with ii. 197
Sammiel, a pestilential wind i. 165 to 167. See also *Winds*.
Samson, the water which he met with did not spring out of the ass's jaw bone iv. 215
Sands, moving, precautions taken to prevent them from choaking up the wells i. 242, 243
Saphir, inhabitant of, probable meaning of this phrase iii. 356 to 362
Sarah, her age when she was sought by the two kings iv. 201
Saul, time which the bodies of him and his sons hanged i. 160
Savoury, meaning of a word thus translated i. 385
Scorpions. See *Serpents*.
Sea, probable meaning of this word as used by our translators in a passage of scripture iii. 409
Sea shore, repasts frequently taken on ii. 28. Our Lord's visit to the apostles on the sea shore 30 to 35, 63.
Seal. See *Inscriptions*.

Sealed, him hath God the Father, a remarkable illustration of this passage from the *Euterpe* of *Herodotus* i. xciv.
Sealing, method of thus securing those places where the stores of the Grand Signior are kept iv. 295
Sealing up the eyes iii. 306
Seasons, account of them in the East ii. 40, 43. Exceedingly regular there i. 143. See also *Harvest*, *Rain*, *Spring*, *Summer*, and *Winter*.
Seats, high raised, places of honor ii. 370
Sector Zonarius explanation of this Latin phrase i. lxiii.
Seed time, double in Egypt iv. 16
Seeds, account of certain kinds mentioned in a passage of scripture iii. 202. Different sorts eaten with bread 206
Seething pot seen in a vision by Jeremiah i. 411
Sennacherib, his boast of not wanting water iii. 314. Hard usage experienced by the Jews who were carried away by him iv. 180
Sepulchral memorials used in the East iii. 52
Sepulchres, practice of white washing them iii. 92. See also *Graves*, and *Memorials*.
Sequin, value of this coin ii. 388 n.
Serpents and scorpions frequently lodge in houses i. 294. See also *Charms*.
Siculus Diodorus, remarkable passage in his history quoted i. lxxxiii.
Sowing, time of, this phrase explained ii. 315, 316
Shade, probable meaning of this word in a passage of scripture ii. 339
Shadow of death, land of the, probable meaning of this phrase iv. 93 to 96
Shadows of mountains as if they were men, illustration of this passage i. lxxvi.
Shawls, iv 199
Sheep of different colours i. 253. Sheep and lambs often given as presents ii. 241. Different kinds of sheep at Aleppo iii. 253. See also *Cattle*, and *Flocks*.
Sheep shearing, time of, in the Holy Land i. 182. Feasts made on this occasion 240. Binding sheep in order to shear them 241
Sheets, probable meaning of the word thus translated in a passage of scripture iv. 266. A blanket or a sheet frequently used as a wrapper for the body among the Egyptians 267
Shekels, manner of reckoning them, iv. 338
Shell, vessels of ii. 117
Shepherd's garment a security against molestation from the wild Arabs i. 215. Shepherds with their flocks frequent ruins 330
Sherbet, and different sorts of it ii. 114, 115 n.

Shields carried before persons as a mark of honor ii. 348
Shiloh, dances of the daughters of iii. 223 to 225
Shimei's behaviour explained ii. 309
Ships of Ebeh, meaning of this phrase ii. 155, 158
Shirts worn by the Turks and Moors iv. 265
Shoes and slippers worn in the East iv. 233. Red shoes supposed to have been a mark of dignity anciently, ii. 351
Shuttle, this word, in a passage of Job, not in the original iv. 171
Simseras, Arabian houses of lodging for travellers, their accommodations ii. 195
Singeing, a method of dressing hares ii. 79
Singing and music used in honoring superiors ii. 331. Singing used in funeral processions iii. 33
Sitting before the LORD, this posture explained, as applied to David ii. 273
Slaves used with great kindness iv. 230. Often sold at a cheap rate 232
Sleeping in the porch of the tent, ancient practice of, i. xlv. Manner of sleeping in the East 295 : sleeping rooms, time of reposing, &c. 296. Sleeping on the tops of houses 298.
Slippers. See *Shoes*.
Snipes, method of taking them in the Holy Land ii. 66
Snow put into wine to cool it ii. 122
Sodom and Gomorrha, plain where they stood iii. 177
Soldiers, their employment in peace iv. 343
Solomon, his numerous retinue, and magnificence of his table and utensils ii. 104, 106, 107. His portrait of old age iii. 131 to 169. A particular to be attended to in illustrating his history 391
Son, congratulations usual on the birth of one iv. 338
Songs, and sometimes extemporary ones, sung by travellers ii. 153. Songs of warlike exploits common iii. 346, 347. See also *Graves*, *Lamentation*, *Caoinan*, &c.
Sorcery. See *Treasures*.
Sowing corn, how performed by the Bedouins i. 200, 201. Practice of robbing the sowers in Palestine 202. Different kinds of grain sown in the winter 205, 206. See also 446, and *Ploughing*.
Spades seldom used in the Holy Land iv. 276
Spear in the hand, a mark of honor ii. 333
Specimen of classics. See *Classics*.
Spitting on the ground, a method of expressing extreme detestation iv. 326
Splendour, or vapour, in the plains of the desert ii. 219 n.
Splinters. See *Wooden*.
Spouse in the Canticles, some of her expressions explained i. 263 to 265, 341, 342 : ii. 215

Spring, fires continued very late in this season in the Holy Land and with reason i. 144, 145. The spring much forwarder there than with us 146. Rain in the spring of great advantage 154. Description of an Eastern spring iii. 127
Standard carried before a person, a mark of honor ii. 333
Standards of the Israelites in their march, what these probably were ii. 214
Stewed meat a delicacy among the Arabs ii. 73
Stones, immense ones found in ancient ruins i. 293. Sitting on heaps of them at feasts ii. 315. Heaps of stones used for a memorial 37; iv. 306; and placed at certain distances to point out the way in the deserts ii. 219. Practice of rendering fields unfruitful by filling them with stones iv. 308
Stool, this word injudiciously used in one passage by our translators ii. 372
Storks, their great usefulness in the Holy Land iii. 260. Their migration 268
Strangers, how entertained ii. 68
Streets in towns given to foreign powers iii. 372, 373
Stupifying drugs given to princes iii. 386, 387
Suetonius, a passage in, illustrated i. 73. Another remarkable one in the same author 81
Sugar probably known to David and Solomon ii. 57, 58
Summer, its constant drought i. 100, 123
Summer fruits presented by Ziba to David, what particular fruits meant by this phrase ii. 130
Sirnames, many in use among the Orientals iv. 330
Surprise, Turkish expressions of iv. 182
Swearing. See *Oath*.
Sword, method of wearing it in travelling ii 163. Sword hanging at the neck, a token of humiliation and subjection iii. 370
Sycamores of Egypt iv. 12, 71

T.

Tabernacle of Moses, several particulars concerning it i. 274, 275
Table relative to the croisade wars iii. 363 to 366. See also *Furnishing*
Tabret, or "timbrel," the kind of instrument meant by a word thus translated ii. 134
Tacitus, a remarkable passage in him illustrated i. 81
Tales. See *Discourses*.
Talking about an oak, or a rock, meaning of this expression as used by Homer i. 48
Targets, probable meaning of a word thus rendered by our translators ii. 348
Tartars, desolating march of an army of them iii 333
Taxes paid by a part of the produce of the field iii. 390

Tents, construction of those of the Crim Tartars and of the Greeks i. xlv, xlvii. Custom of living in them in the Holy Land 194. Separate ones for different branches of the same family 246. Smokiness of the tents 259. Blackness of those of the Arabs 260. Those of other tribes, of different colours 263. Women's division of the tent 266. Regular inhabitants of towns and villages spend part of their summers abroad under tents 268, 270. Some used for religious solemnities 273. Structure of the Arab tents 274. Time of day for pitching tents in travelling ii. 188. Uusually pitched near fountains iii. 307

Theft in a caravanserai, why peculiarly shameful ii. 195

Thickets. See *Woods*.

Thigh, phrase of "putting the hand under another's thigh" explained iv. 190

Thorns. See *Hedge*.

Threshold, prostration at, a mode of honoring persons ii. 379

Throne, different significations of this word as used in scripture i. 190. Persons not possessing the regal dignity, sometimes honored by permission to sit on one ii. 346

Thunder frequently the forerunner of rain in Judea i. 102, 104. Thunder showers in that country 112. See also *Lightning*.

Thus, this word improperly used by our translators in a passage of scripture ii. 197

Tibullus, quoted i. 228 : (lib. 3. el. 2. ver. 17, &c.) iv. 188. Illustration of a passage of (lib. 2. el 3. ver. 15, &c.) i. lvi.

Tigris, particulars of its shores i. 276 to 280

Timbrel. See *Tabret*.

Title given to Ali Bey iii. 401

Titles of books iii. 117, 120

Tombs, and their ornaments iii. 77

Tooth, a prodigious one, said to have belonged to St. Paul, ii. 236

Towers used for flying to in times of insurrection or danger iii. 325. Further remarks on their purposes 327. See also *Watch towers*.

Travellers carry their provisions with them ii. 140 : also skins filled with water for their refreshment on the journey 142 : and provender for their beasts 144. Amuse themselves with music and songs 153. Mounted travellers attended by persons on foot 164. Hospitality of the Arabs to travellers 173 : this hospitality however sometimes compelled 175, 183. Liberality of the Arabs, and contrary conduct of the Turks, to their fellow travellers 196. See also *Baggage*, *Caravans*, *Journeys*, *Packages*, and *Sword*.

Travelling, manner of, by camels, dromedaries, boats, &c. ii. 154. On foot, 164

Treasures hidden under ground, supposed to be discoverable by sorcery iii. 388
Trees, remarks on several mentioned in a passage of scripture iii. 183 to 187, 182. Trees and plants represented in the Mosaic pavement of Prænestè iv. 70 to 74. See also *Plantations.*
Turcomans, their manners, &c. i. 193
Turtle doves, vast numbers of tame ones found in Egypt, &c. iii. 269
Tyrus, prince of, illustration of Ezekiel's phrases applied to him ii. 366. Nature of the ancient Tyrian commerce iv. 346

U.

Ullaloo, account of this funeral cry of the ancient Irish iii. 39
Umbrellas, used for marks of distinction and grandeur ii. 339
Upupa, or lapwing, remarks concerning this bird iv. 167
Usko, Mr. John F. his written and verbal testimony concerning Mr. Harmer's Observations iv. 354
Utensils, remarks on our translated terms for several used by the ancient Jews ii. 93
Uz, land of, its position iii. 178, 179

V.

Vapour. See *Splendour.*
Vegetables, different kinds on which the poorer sort of people feed i. 393, 395. See also *Plantations.*
Vehicles, only sorts used ii. 160, 162
Veils used by women iv. 197
Venison, why desired by Isaac i. 386
Villagers obliged to supply their grandees with provisions when on a journey ii. 80
Vine planted even in the inside of houses i. 321. Time when it blossoms, its fruit sometimes fails iii. 213. Tame cattle very fond of its leaves 227 : time in which these fall off 228. Vines of Egypt iv. 10
Vinegar and oil taken with bread i. 389. Vinegar used as a drink ii. 123
Vineyards rare even among Christians, under the Mohammedan government iv. 219
Vintage and olive gathering, time of i. 120. Ancient expressions of joy in the vintage iii. 222 to 225
Viol, instrument probably meant by the word thus translated in some passage of scripture ii. 138
Virgil quoted (Ecl. x. 75, 76) iv. 261 n.: (Georg. ii. 383, 384) i. lxiii. (Georg. ii. 506) ii. 116
Virgin, the peculiarity of Isaiah's marrying one iv. 316

Voltaire, misrepresentations of his exposed i. 432 n.: ii. 105 n.: iii. 107 n. 151 : iv. 201, 208
"*Volume* of a book," meaning of this phrase in the scriptures iii. 114, 115, 117.
Voyage of St. Paul, illustrations of iv. 326

W.

Walls, height of those around dwellings i. 338. Walls of stone used as enclosures for vineyards ii. 170
Warriors often very magnificently clothed ii. 297. Frequently buried with their armour iii. 49
Washing of clothes performed in the most public manner iv. 162
Watch towers, strong ones built in the vicinity of cities, to keep their inhabitants in check iii. 317
Watchmen employed during the night i. 342
Water, origin of the custom of pouring it out at the feast of tabernacles i. 106 ; possibly practised before its becoming an annual ceremony 111. Extraordinary phenomenon mentioned by Josephus accounted for 171. Of furnishing travellers with water to drink 390. Different ways of drinking it ii. 45, 46. Women still accustomed to draw water 100. Water the principal drink in the East 101. Travellers carry skins or jars filled with water, for their refreshment on the journey 143, 202 : other precautions made necessary by its scarcity 143. Its badness also in the Desert iv. 90. See also *Bitter*, *Greasy*, *Nile*, *Samson*, and *Wells*.
Water engines, wrought by the feet iii. 314
Watermelons used for quenching thirst i. 392. General account of them ; their great utility ii. 9
Water spouts on the Syrian and Jewish coasts iii. 174
Watering the ground to lay the dust before a superior, a mark of honor ii. 309
Watering the grounds, method of i. 114
Watering with the foot, explanation of this phrase i. 116
Weather, remarks on that of the Holy Land i. 97 to 187. See *Seasons*, &c.
Weaving, remarks on iv. 170
Wedding. See *Marriage*.
Wells, precautions taken to prevent the moving sands from choking them up i. 242. Wells and cisterns frequent in Judea ii. 243. Difference in the construction of wells and of reservoirs 143 n. Some have troughs and basins of stone by the side of them 149. Stopping up wells an act of hostility iii. 341
Whirlwinds often precede rain and raise immense clouds of sand i. 164. Usually come from the south 165. Sometimes very strong and fatal 166, 167

Whited sepulchres, illustration of this phrase as used by our Lord iii. 92

Wild beasts in the Holy Land iii. 301. It at present swarms with dangerous ones 258

Wilderness, sojournment of the Israelites in i. 276, 277. See also *Desert.*

Windows, different kinds mentioned in scripture i. 303. Explanation of all the Hebrew words in scripture thus translated *ib.* 305

Winds at Aleppo and in the Holy Land i. 118, 128. Cold and hot winds 169. Further particulars of the hot suffocating winds 172. Pestilential winds in Egypt iv. 19. See also *Sammiel.*

Wine, its effects upon some devotees ii. 110. Different kinds 111 : iii. 228. Sweet wines much esteemed ii. 117. Wine drunk *before* meat 119. Libations of wine still made 120. Reason why it is often poured from vessel to vessel 121. Snow put into it to cool it 122. Superior excellence of the wine of Lebanon, iii 231. See also *Mingling.*

Wine presses ii. 121. Sometimes in the vineyards, but mostly in the towns iii. 218

Winter in the Holy Land wet i. 124, 128. Severity of the cold in that season 126, 129. Sometimes however mild and pleasant 129. Depth of the winter 140. See also *Fires*, and *Fur.*

Wives held in great submission ii. 267 n. Custom of purchasing and contracting for them iv. 210, 339

Wolsey, cardinal, his naming himself before the king ii. 257

Women, their civility to strangers ii. 193. Office of the women and children among the Algerines iv. 228. Great confinement of women 255. Anciently the Egyptian women were much engaged in commerce 264. See also *Names*, and *Parturition.*

Wooden lights, or splinters, made of resinous wood iv. 156

Woods, accounts of lodging in i. 232, 234. Woods and thickets in the Holy Land ii. 171 : iii 298

Writing, different methods of iii. 103. In letters of gold 122. See also *Books*, and *Manuscripts.*

Writings relative to the conveyance of property iii. 385

Written mountains, account of them iii. 53

Z.

Ziba, his present to David ii. 130

Ziraleet, Arabic name of a female mode of expressing exultation ii. 323 n.

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